FHA: Profits Before Housing—*Alfred Steinberg*

THE *Nation*

WITHDRAWN

*January 1, 1949*

# Toward a New China Policy

BY JOHN K. FAIRBANK

*

# Garry Davis in Paris

## *A Report on the First "Citizen of the World"*

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

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# Russia's War of Words

BY SAUL K. PADOVER

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Skulduggery in Portugal - - - - - - - - *Jaime Da Silva*

Red Gloves" and "Dirty Hands" - - - - - - - *Leo Sauvage*

A Game at Salzburg, a Poem - - - - - - - *Randall Jarrell*

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**3.** Irregular bleeding or discharge from any natural body opening. Do not wait for pain. Go to the doctor.

**4.** Persistent indigestion. Do not wait for loss of weight. Go to the doctor.

**5.** Progressive change in the color or size of a wart, mole or birthmark. Don't try salves or ointments. Go to the doctor.

**6.** Persistent hoarseness, unexplained cough, or difficulty in swallowing. Do not assume that it is due to smoking or some other form of irritation which will clear up. Go to the doctor.

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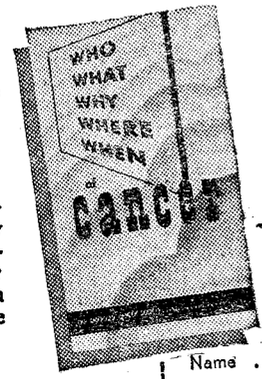


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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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# The Shape of Things

WITH EXPORTS FOR NOVEMBER AT A NEW high, there is reason to believe that most of Britain's economic "targets" for 1948 have been squarely hit. But progress in recovery has yet to translate itself into tangible benefits for Britons who have just celebrated their ninth austerity Christmas. The statistics that record the expansion of trade and industry offer hope for the future, but as the latest White Paper indicates, it is still rather a distant future. This document was issued to conform with the request of the Office for European Economic Cooperation that each member nation prepare a statement showing how it proposes to reach the Marshall Plan objective—"a satisfactory level of economic activity without extraordinary outside assistance"—by the middle of 1952, when E. R. P. is slated to end. The White Paper sets forth integrated plans for investment, production, and foreign trade calculated to give Britain an over-all favorable balance of external payments before the deadline. It forecasts exports 50 per cent greater than in 1938, home food production 50 per cent above the pre-war level, and an increase in manufactures sufficient to raise home consumption 15 to 20 per cent above the present level after filling export quotas. These figures, it is emphasized, are guide marks rather than precise estimates. Recovery on the scale required must depend on a very considerable improvement in labor productivity, as the total supply of man-power is due to decline slightly, and this in turn depends on such factors as increased investment in labor-saving machinery and "whole-hearted collaboration between management and workers."

*

THE SUCCESS OF BRITISH PLANS IS ALSO linked with developments in other countries, particularly the United States. It is assumed, for instance, that exports to the Western Hemisphere can be lifted by 55 per cent. For the fulfilment of this hope, Britain's ability to deliver the goods must be supplemented by the willingness of the United States and other American nations to receive them. Even so large an increase in shipments from Britain will still leave a deficit, which it is hoped will be offset by American purchases of raw materials, including oil, from the sterling area, payments for services, and tourist dollars. How far, then, are we prepared to make large additional purchases not only from the sterling area but also from other Marshall Plan countries which need to sell more goods for dollars if they are to balance their international accounts? There is no doubt that if we can maintain the present level of prosperity, it will be to our advantage to draw on foreign supplies of many raw materials and so conserve diminishing domestic resources. But a policy of encouraging imports of such goods is bound to meet with resistance from the interests which profit by shortages. It has taken only a slight softening of oil prices to start grumbling in the industry about imports of oil which add up to a minute fraction of our rapidly expanding consumption. Yet, somehow, if the Marshall Plan is to attain its objectives, we must in the next few years bring our imports and exports into better balance. The most painless method of doing this, and the one most conducive to general world recovery, is to expand imports as rapidly as possible.

*

RENEWED FIGHTING IN THE NEGEV AND bombing raids on several northern towns seem to have ended the precarious truce in Palestine, although Jerusalem is still quiet. As we go to press, the Security Council has under consideration Egypt's complaint that Israeli forces initiated the renewed fighting in the south and a report from the Acting Mediator to the same effect. The Israeli government, however, claims it agreed to the cease-fire on the explicit understanding that an armistice would be arranged without delay; it charges that Egypt deliberately stalled the negotiations until they collapsed. All this is denied in Cairo. The Egyptian Foreign Office says it was prepared to negotiate a "permanent truce" as soon as the "Zionists" had implemented the Security Council order of November 4, which demanded withdrawal of Israeli forces to the lines held before October 14, when the autumn campaign began. The Israeli answer has not been made as this is written, but it can easily be anticipated. In its original "acceptance" of the November 4 decision, Israel stated that it had withdrawn all extra forces sent into the Negev for the October campaign but would retain there such permanent troops as were necessary to "safeguard the entire Negev and Jerusalem" from new Arab assaults. This limited agree-

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ment was characterized as satisfactory by the Acting Mediator, Dr. Bunche. Under such circumstances, an Egyptian contention that full withdrawal must precede new negotiations was equivalent to refusal to negotiate. The fact is, of course, that Egypt stood to gain by delaying talks with the Israelis and holding fast to its few remaining positions under the protection of the cease-fire. Israel, on the other hand, is bitterly opposed to a continued truce that protects foreign forces inside its borders and leads to no settlement.

*

TEN PAGES OF THE 1947 REPORT OF THE President's Committee on Civil Rights were devoted to the "shamefulness and absurdity" of the treatment of Negro Americans in our nation's capital city. Now we have as documentation to those paragraphs the searching report on "Segregation in Washington" issued a fortnight ago by the National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital. Written by Kenesaw Mountain Landis, a Chicago *Sun-Times* columnist and nephew of the late judge, the report is the result of a privately financed two-year study by eighty-seven civic leaders from all sections of the country, headed by Dr. George N. Shuster of Hunter College. It is a most honest and thorough statement, placing the blame for the disgrace of Washington squarely upon the "men of acknowledged culture and refinement, the leaders of the community," who set the pattern rather than upon the thousands of ordinary people who follow it through ignorance or fear. For instance, the report charges—and proves—that the handful of men who control real estate in Washington have artificially created the black belt to insure a scarcity housing market for Negroes and high profits for themselves. "Allied against the Negro in this doubtful enterprise," the report continues, "in spite of contrary ideals and professions, is the full majesty of the United States government." The committee then goes into the sordid story of discrimination in the federal agencies—the OPA was a gleaming exception—and makes it clear that "only the President" can break down these inexcusable barriers.

*

THE AGGRAVATION OF THE LATIN AMERICAN crisis has shaken the indifference with which this country usually regards the successive coups that dominate political life below the border. This time, the epidemic character of the disturbances has revealed a state of affairs too unhealthy to permit the usual Washington routine of first condemning the usurpers of power and then inviting them to Washington a few months later as the genuine representatives of their nations. Peru's military government has been recognized but the military juntas ruling Venezuela and El Salvador are still

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in quarantine. Other threatening attempts have recently been put down or uncovered in Uruguay, Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Paraguay, while responsible politicians in Colombia and Guatemala are looking into the future with increased concern. In fact, only in Argentina, where Perón has just won another of his "new popular democratic" victories, does the government feel at ease, which tends to confirm the theory that it is from Buenos Aires this broad movement of "rejuvenation" stems. Franco, too, has had a great and continuing share in the process of making Latin America an ideological extension of the totalitarian conception of politics. Our often repeated warning that as long as Franco continues in power in Spain there will always be trouble in Latin America, is fully confirmed. It is to the credit of President José Figueres of Costa Rica that he seized the occasion of the invasion of his country by a heterogeneous expeditionary force from Nicaragua, to expose the crisis which at this moment grips all Latin America and which arises not merely from the plotting of ambitious generals, colonels, or lieutenants, but from fascism itself attempting to make good in the Western Hemisphere the losses it suffered in Europe and Asia.

# *The Ruhr Reborn*

[*No details of the six-power agreement on the Ruhr have been revealed by press time. However, because it reports the existing unhealthy situation so well, we reprint, with permission, extracts from a recent editorial in the London* Tribune.]

WHAT, then, has really happened to the Ruhr industries in the three and a half years of British occupation?

It should be remembered that the whole coal and steel industry of the Ruhr is an immense interlocking network dominated by half a dozen giant vertical combines, the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, Krupp, Mannesmann, Hösch, Klöckner, and Gute Hoffnungshütte. Apart from owning almost the whole of the German steel industry, these six combines owned in 1938 about 40 per cent of the Ruhr coal. In addition, they owned iron-ore mines, limestone quarries, rolling mills, trading companies, and engineering works in all parts of the country, such as the famous MAN factory in Nürnberg owned by the Gute Hoffnungshütte. The names of the chiefs of the Ruhr industries—Thyssen, Haniel, Reusch, Krupp von Bohlen, Zangen—are now familiar all over the world through their association with two world wars which they prepared and actively helped to wage; inside Germany, their names have for many decades been the symbols of ruthless exploitation and social reaction.

What has happened to their industrial kingdom? Instead of bringing it under public control, the occupation embarked on an indeterminate and shaky policy of trust-breaking. Trust-breaking is a doubtful proposition in the best of circumstances. The Americans have tried it again and again in their own country, and the monopolies have grown bigger and stronger in the process. . . . In the Ruhr . . . the futile attempt at trust-breaking has been made under British supervision. And it has not even been made very seriously. It has not involved any change in ownership, and the newly created small firms have been left unprovided with capital. Implementation was left to a German trustee, Heinrich Dinkelbach, whom the trade unions and the Social Democrats deeply distrusted as a representative of the old owners, but whose half-hearted attempt at carrying out the even more half-hearted British measure was enough to cause a storm of protest from the old owners, led by Reusch (Gute Hoffnungshütte), Henle (Klöckner), and Schmidt (Shareholders' Protection Union). It is worth recounting what has happened since then.

In 1947, Reusch contemptuously declined to accept payment for the raw-material stocks of his decartelized works at Oberhausen and ostentatiously resigned from the new steel employers' association as soon as representatives of the newly created firms joined it. During 1947, seventeen new firms were set up by removing the blast furnaces from the combines. These new companies were legally registered, but no change of capital ownership took place. Each new company got a purely nominal capital issue of 100,000 Reichsmarks.

In January, 1948, Erich Potthof, one of the ablest of the younger German trade-unionists, submitted to General Robertson a plan under which, pending a final decision on ownership, the new firms created as a result of decartelization would have been organized under a North German Iron and Steel Production Council (with 50 per cent trade-union and 50 per cent employers' representation). This council would have held the shares in trust and undertaken financing. The Potthof plan was shelved because it had not been sent through the correct channels, namely, the trustee administration of Herr Dinkelbach! . . .

In July of this year came the first unilateral American intervention. Officially unrecognized by the British authorities, eight directors of the United States Steel Corporation, accompanied by a representative of the Congress Committee for Marshall Aid, toured the Ruhr for three weeks in Göring's special train. The United States Steel Corporation is the largest horizontal steel trust in the world, employing 175,000 workers. Thus it is hardly surprising that a recartelization of that part of the steel industry already decartelized was recommended. The Military Governors are expected shortly

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to implement the United States Commission's recommendations in a plan providing for the recartelization of the twenty-eight new companies into twelve larger concerns.

But more significant than the elaborate maneuvers of the German Ruhr magnates, in league with American business men, to thwart the British trust-breaking policy in the Ruhr is the speedy German line-up which has taken place within the heavy industries and at Frankfurt. Heinrich Kost, one of Hitler's "war-economy leaders," and former managing director of Rhein-Preussen, is in charge of the provisional coal administration; Wilhelm Zangen is back on the board of Mannesmann; Rohland, one of Speer's right-hand men in the Armaments Ministry and a member of the S.S., has returned from internment to the board of Vereinigte Stahlwerke. So have Sohl and Schwede, also war-time directors. Hugo Stinnes has been acquitted of all political guilt by a German denazification court and is active behind the scenes. Hermann Reusch has emerged with enhanced prestige from his battles with the unions and the British authorities. Henle of Klöckner, together with Pfermenges, the Frankfurt banker, are faithful representatives of the combines in the Frankfurt Economic Council. These are the men who are preparing to fill the vacuum left by Mr. Bevin's failure to socialize the Ruhr industries. . . .

# *Aggression in Indonesia*

FROM the point of view of the Dutch government, everything has been going splendidly. In the two weeks since their paratroopers dropped on Jokjakarta in a manner reminiscent of the Nazi descent on The Hague in 1940, they have captured most of the key centers of the Indonesian Republic. Their well-armed soldiers have met with little organized resistance, and the cost of the operation appears to have been extremely light.

On the diplomatic front, the Dutch have also scored. They have had to bear, of course, with stern rebukes from statesmen and publicists throughout the world; explanations of their reasons for breaking their solemn promises to the United Nations have been received with impolite skepticism. But hard words break no bones, as practical Netherlanders well know, and public indignation filtered through the leaky sieve of the Security Council has been reduced to a very dilute acid. Even if they obey the order to cease fire—and at the time of writing they have not done this—deletion of the original American proposal for the withdrawal of Dutch forces leaves them in possession of most of their objectives.

The failure of the United Nations to deal more effectively with this situation is lamentable. With both the United States and Russia strongly condemning Dutch aggression, this seemed an occasion when the usual deadlock in the Security Council might be broken. Unfortunately, the Russians preferred to pursue a devious political course. They put forward a resolution which clearly would not command the support of any other members. When this was defeated, they abstained from voting on the American resolution, the strongest that had any chance of passage, and so prevented it from obtaining the requisite majority.

It would appear that the Soviet strategists are by no means displeased by developments in Indonesia. As their spokesman on the Security Council indicated, they had little use for the Republican government which broke with the Indonesian Communist Party some time ago and more recently suppressed a Communist revolt. With this government defeated and discredited, there will be a new and better opportunity for the Communists to win control of the nationalist movement. Then the "red menace" in the East Indies, which at present exists chiefly in Dutch propaganda, may begin to take on some reality.

The Netherlands government, in short, is playing straight into the hands of Moscow; it is recklessly tossing lighted matches in territory strewn with open powder kegs. And it has procured most of those matches, or the means of manufacturing them, from this country. The Dutch forces in Indonesia are largely equipped with material supplied by us under lend-lease or under favorable war-surplus-disposal agreements. Moreover, while it may be true that E. R. P. shipments have not directly contributed to Dutch armaments, they have facilitated the present aggressive action by making possible the diversion of man-power and resources from civilian needs in Holland.

Should we, under these circumstances, move unilaterally to enforce economic sanctions against the Netherlands? Should we follow suspension of E. R. P. shipments to the Netherlands East Indies by halting shipments to Holland itself? The State Department appears hesitant to take this step and for good reasons. The direct use of E. R. P. as a political club could provide a dangerous precedent. Moreover, it must be remembered that the plan's accent is on "European recovery" and that checking economic progress in Holland would probably check it also in some of the other fifteen E. R. P. nations. Nevertheless, we think that the State Department ought to address a solemn message to the Netherlands government that its defiance of the United Nations and its improper use of American aid is endangering the whole future of E. R. P. and could lead to a refusal by Congress to provide further supplies for Holland. For while the American people appreciate the economic problems of the Dutch, they are not willing to see American resources, intended to assist the rehabilitation of the Netherlands, employed directly or indirectly for waging a wholly unjustified war.

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# Laurence Duggan

IN Laurence Duggan, the nation has lost one of its most honest and consistent liberal voices. No one who ever knew or had dealings with him could possibly credit any of the insinuations which conscienceless men have wound about his tragic death. His record was clear-cut and open. During his period in the State Department, Mr. Duggan worked to liberalize its policy, especially those touching his own field of Latin American affairs; he believed in the Good Neighbor doctrine of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and did his utmost to translate it into concrete practice. Above all, he held rigidly to the principle of non-intervention, so rigidly, in fact, that he felt constrained to write a private letter to the editor of this journal, after he had left the department, taking her to task for favoring support in Washington of the democratic forces in Bolivia. The government upset which had recently occurred there, he insisted, was not primarily the product of fascist plotting but was a local matter which justified neither pressure nor intervention from the outside. His fixed advocacy of a hands-off position seemed to us to carry liberalism beyond realistic limits, but it is evidence enough, if more were needed, of how sharply he differed with the Communist view that rightist movements in every country must be actively opposed by any government that calls itself anti-fascist. But further evidence on this point is hardly called for. Every responsible comment on Duggan's death has shown how reckless and scurrilous was the release by Representative Mundt of the hearsay, secondhand statement listing Duggan's name among State Department officials charged with pro-Russian espionage. The story came to the Un-American Activities Committee from that least savory of ex-Communist informers, Isaac Don Levine, who had it from Whittaker Chambers, who now repudiates it in the form Levine reported it. Of such stuff is a case built to ruin a man's name after he is dead!

Perhaps the one hopeful aspect of a generally sad and contemptible business is that the violent reaction of press and radio has driven Mundt to apologies and other members of the committee to promises of reform. To most people who take the trouble to read the story under the headlines, the incident will suggest another solution, namely the quick extinction of the Thomas committee—whose chief is now busy defending his own un-American activities in open court—and all the methods it represents. For nothing it could ever expose can possibly be of sufficient value to the country to offset the damage it has done, not only to the reputation of useful citizens, but to the concept of American justice. The time has come to end the scandal of government by informers.

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CORRECTION

In the article Muscle-bound America, by A. G. Mezerik, in the issue of December 18, the total consumption of oil in this country in 1948 was given as 90 million gallons. It should have been 90 billion.

# Toward a New China Policy

BY JOHN KING FAIRBANK

AMERICAN policy toward any coalition regime that might succeed Chiang Kai-shek has been foreshadowed by Paul Hoffman's statement as E. C. A. administrator that our economic aid is for peoples, not governments, and that "if a de facto government of the people were set up that met all conditions for receiving our aid," we would probably continue that aid. This statement contains a big "if" which a Communist-dominated coalition in China might eventually have difficulty in satisfying. Yet an offer of aid conditional on the development of free institutions not only carries out the spirit of the Marshall Plan but also points the way toward a new and more constructive China policy.

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The argument, based on the analogy of Eastern Europe, that a Communist-dominated coalition is bound to develop into a police state is too readily applied to a coalition in China. Unless we propose to turn our backs on China entirely, we have to assess the possibility of a Chinese coalition remaining for some time in a more malleable condition, less firmly in the Communist pattern, than might be expected in a smaller and more centralized country closer to Russia. In other words, we may have more time than we think to pursue a constructive policy designed to support freedom within China. This more constructive policy, however, requires us to make a distinction between the Chinese Communist movement and the Chinese social revolution.

Failure to distinguish these two aspects of change in the Chinese scene has left Americans bickering with one another for many months past. Partisans of Chen

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nault and of Stilwell, supporters and critics of General Marshall's effort at mediation, denunciations of American aid to Chiang and protests that it was too small—all this babble of voices leading nowhere derives from the fundamental American failure to distinguish communism from social revolution in China and analyze the role of each in current developments.

As a result there has been a great deal of very sincere arguing on both sides of the question. Americans who approach China by way of Europe and international communism have stressed the genuinely Communist nature of the Chinese party's ideology and practice. Their analysis has tried to show that the Chinese Communist movement is not "mere agrarian reform" but contains all the evil potentialities of the Russian police state. On the other hand, Americans who approach the China problem primarily from a background of on-the-spot observation among the Chinese people have stressed the vitality of the new popular movements—the sincerity of the students, the awakening of the peasantry, the morale of Communist troops, and the idealism of Communist cadres of party organizers—in comparison with the sorry demoralization visible on every hand under the established regime. Tales of the Communist "liberation" movement to free the peasantry from illiteracy, disease, famine, and exploitation have been balanced by tales of its atrocities and ruthless violence and of lying Communist propaganda. From the flood of good and bad incidents Americans can pick the data to support their position, at whichever extreme it may be.

During the last year opinion in the United States has been largely influenced by those American observers who stress the pattern of international communism at work in China. They have been aided by the pro-Moscow declarations of Mao Tse-tung and his doctrinaire anti-American propaganda. At the same time the trend of popular opinion in China has been the other way, toward acquiescence in a Chinese Communist accession to power as the only escape from the deepening crisis of inflation, stoppage of production, scarcity, breakdown of services, and utter demoralization of the National Government, its armies, and its administrators. Thus the American and the Chinese people are in danger of drifting apart, and the Chinese Communist movement may be able to exacerbate the rift into a complete rupture. This makes it all the more urgent to distinguish the two components which have been contributing to Communist success in China.

THE first of these components, the Chinese Communist movement, is easily identifiable. The Chinese Communist Party was formally organized in 1921. Mao Tse-tung, who rose as an organizer of peasant unions, has been the chief figure in the party's politburo for almost fifteen years. His "new democracy" line, in spite of its obvious originality in applying Leninism to China, has gone along with his consistent support of the Moscow line in international affairs. One of the most recent illustrations of the Chinese Communist puzzle has been Mao's orthodox denunciation of Tito and Titoism, at a time when Mao and his movement, with their own party, army, and self-sufficient territorial base far removed from the threat of Kremlin troops and apparently independent of Kremlin aid, appear to be far better situated to follow Tito's nationalist line than Tito himself. Mao's ideological subservience to Moscow may be a fancy cover for his de facto independence; but this is pure supposition. Thus in spite of the relative paucity of verified Russian aid to Chinese communism, we have no basis for divorcing Chinese communism from international communism as a worldwide movement bent on the extension of its power.

This general view has been eloquently stated in the report on "Communism in China" prepared by a subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, as part of its series on "The Strategy and Tactics of World Communism" (Government Printing Office, 1948). The report summarizes the devices used to spread Communist influence in China and succeeds in laying—for the last time, I hope—the ghost of "mere agrarian reform." The House report continues by stating that "those who hold to it [the theory that the Chinese Communists are moderate agrarian reformers] have been or still are in official positions where they have shaped policies of the United States government on China." This seems to me untrue as applied to any American officials I can think of; and since it is vaguely stated, it seems irresponsible and mischievous.

What the House committee investigators have observed, I suggest, is not that American specialists, in or out of government, have tried to whitewash Chinese communism but that they have seen in the Chinese revolution other forces in addition to international communism, forces which I think can usefully be grouped under the heading of the Chinese social revolution. The game between us and the Russians is to see which side can use these forces to its own advantage; or, less cynically, which side can align itself with the long-term needs and aspirations of the Chinese masses and so find real allies among them. The House report on "Communism in China" makes many important and valid points as to the hollow promises and deceptive stratagems of Chinese communism, and yet it leaves one wondering where the Chinese people stand. If the Chinese Communists are thus manipulating an unsound land economics, a Russia-first foreign policy, a coercive "reform" movement, and a double-talking ideology, where do they get their popular support?

The usual answer to this is to deny that the Chinese Communists have genuine popular support. But if that

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is the case, we have before us the spectacle of some 150,000,000 peasants being unaccountably dragooned by a peasant-based party of 3,000,000 members and a peasant-fed army of 2,000,000. This explanation of Chinese Communist power as based purely on coercion and chicanery seems wholly inadequate. Actually, the strength of Chinese communism lies in its alignment with the forces of social revolution, which we should study and comprehend more thoroughly. The current social revolution in China began long before the Chinese ever heard of communism, and it has not by any means been confined to the Communist area of China. The great achievement of the Chinese Communist apparatus has been not so much to create this revolution as to capture its leadership and control it. The continued effort to control it is seen in the present Communist bid for the allegiance or cooperation of Chinese liberals both inside and outside the Kuomintang. Since the Kuomintang in its day, in the 1920's, acquired the leadership of social change and later lost it, we may well speculate as to how and when the Communists in their turn may lose it, and find themselves as power-holders arrayed against the very forces which brought them to power.

I CALL these forces "social revolution" because I think Americans too often overlook the "social" aspects of change in China in favor of the "economic," "political," and "military." No doubt this is because we can understand the intricacies of the Chinese farm economy and the material poverty of the peasant masses, the rivalry of political factions and the clash of armies, more easily than the long-term and less concrete changes in Chinese social structure and institutions. But the latter are fundamental, and a new China policy must encompass the problems of social change as well as the more immediate crises of poverty, propaganda, police control, and organized violence.

Two examples may show the nature of these social forces in China. One is the break-up of the family system, a topic often mentioned and little studied. It can be symbolized by the new custom of freedom in marriage as opposed to the old system of marriage arranged by families. Individual choice in marriage, so dear to our hearts as Americans, was not long ago in China unthinkable to a dutiful Confucian son or daughter. This was not a mere fashion of Chinese life but a demonstration of the essential fact that the family was the economic unit. A daughter-in-law married into her husband's family; the young couple did not leave it to set up housekeeping but remained under the patriarchal roof to fulfil their filial duty in maintaining the family line and its fortunes. In this context of thorough economic and social dependence on the family, young people could more easily acquiesce in arranged marriages. Naturally when the family in the peasant villages ceased to be the economic unit, because individuals began to make their living by earning personal wages in cities, young people began to lose their dependence on the family.

This is of course but one aspect of the general process of modernization which has freed Chinese youth from family ties and left them open to new attachments and new loyalties—patriotism, or communism, or the cult of the *Lao-pai-hsing* (the peasant masses), so successfully encouraged by the Communist leadership as a focus of youthful idealism among the cadres of the party workers.

Another example of social change being used as a source of political power may be seen in the political activation and organization of the peasantry. In the old China, for some three thousand years, the farmer was left inert, exercising no influence on political institutions. As the producer of food and the basis of armies, he had to be conciliated or otherwise kept under control. But control over the peasant masses was maintained by checks and balances, like the *pao-chia* system of collective responsibility for local order, rather than by positive organization of peasants into associations, unions, cooperatives, or town assemblies. The common Chinese farmer was pretty thoroughly excluded from the old political life of China; collectively he formed a great immobile peasant base, four-fifths of the population staying put upon the land while a mobile upper stratum of one-fifth or less practically monopolized literacy and learning, trade and travel, official place and the higher life of Chinese art and culture.

This bifurcation of Chinese society has been lessened as the possibilities of modern travel and communication, the reform of the language and the use of the vernacular in writing, and all the other potentialities of modern life have come closer to the peasant village. It is here, in short, that the Chinese Communists have found the key to political power, for they have been the first to capitalize upon the opportunities which have gradually accumulated for giving the peasant literacy, improving his farm technology, "liberating" his thinking from its old narrow village confines, and so organizing him in a new structure of political power.

THE social changes which the Chinese Communists use with such history-making results are not in the main their invention or their monopoly. The student movement in modern China, which even now shows considerable independence of Communist manipulation, stems from the 1890's and succeeding decades, when modern scholars began to have an organized voice in politics. The modern Chinese press also dates from the 1890's; the *pai-hua* (written vernacular) movement, from 1917; mass education and the cooperative movement, from non-Communist projects in the 1920's; and Chinese patriotism, now increasingly inflamed against American aid to

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Chiang, from the last two generations of foreign aggression in China. Social movements of this type are revolutionary, but they are not necessarily made in Moscow. Many were sparked by Western missionaries. Few Americans would like to expend our resources in the effort to suppress them. Yet we must ruefully admit that Chinese communism on the whole has turned them to its uses, or organized their potentialities, more effectively than its rival the Kuomintang.

This means that American policy must be, as Mr. Hoffman's statement on the continuation of E. C. A. in China would imply, to align ourselves more positively and actively with social change in China of the type we really believe in, even though we find ourselves running parallel to or even "getting in bed with" Chinese communism. In its present phase of development the Chinese Communist movement must base its appeal in part on principles of "liberation" and mass welfare to which most Americans would subscribe—not, however, by calling the Chinese Communists "mere agrarian reformers." The nature of communism as an organized effort to acquire and keep power makes us doubt that its various promises can be realized in China any more than was the case in Russia. But in China, to a more obvious degree than in Eastern Europe, we are confronted by a genuine national and social revolution, not just a made-in-Moscow drive for the seizure of power. Our policy, therefore, to have any hope of success, must take into account the powerful social forces behind the Chinese revolution as well as its Communist ideology.

# *Israel at First Glance*

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

## V. The Holy Places

UNTIL last fall I had always accepted at face value the apparently earnest, sometimes almost fanatical, concern of the Christian world with the Holy Places of Palestine. In all discussions of the ultimate fate of that country the question of protecting religious shrines and institutions played a large and emotional part. I recall, for example, the fuss raised in 1946 over the "desecration" of the Sea of Galilee by a beach resort called "Lido," supposed to be owned by Jews and employed for riotous goings-on. So strong was the feeling that the Anglo-American Commission felt constrained to mention the Lido specifically in its report, describing it as "objectionable" and an offense to "many Christian people."

It was closed later, but I visited it that summer; I even sat at a table and sipped a raspberry-colored drink. The Lido consisted of a little bathing pavilion, a dock, and an outdoor refreshment place. It was owned not by Jews but by Germans. During the war the British had taken it over and leased it to a Christian Arab who was running it when the outcry arose. When I was there about a dozen people were bathing, and a dozen more, Arabs, Jews, and unidentifiables, were talking quietly over their syrupy beverages. A few children were playing on the narrow beach. Friends told me it was always like that —no strong drinks, no orgies. Yet Sodom and Gomorrah might have risen on the shores of Galilee, to judge by the denunciations.

Now, having visited Jerusalem after almost ten months of Arab attack and siege, I am forced to believe that Christian anxiety about the Holy Land's shrines is mostly hypocritical buncombe. I am sorry to have to say this, but the facts allow no other conclusion.

Jerusalem was under Arab attack from the moment the partition resolution was adopted on November 29, 1947, until the other day when the Arab and Jewish leaders agreed to the terms of a new cease fire. Last week I described the shelling that reduced large parts of the Old City to ruins, particularly the Jewish section with its ancient synagogues and hostels which the Arab Legion, led by British officers, put under heavy bombardment. Synagogues that survived the attack were deliberately dynamited when the Arab troops came in. By the time Jewish resistance ended—on May 28—only five of the twenty-seven synagogues in the Old City were intact. These are supposed to have been blown up since.

The destruction of Christian shrines and churches and monasteries was less systematic but no less wanton. Arab invading forces, both the Legion and the Egyptians, shelled Jerusalem indiscriminately. From May 15, when the mandate ended, they took over, one after another, churches and convents for military use, plundering as they went. A complete list of Christian religious institutions wrecked, looted, and used for "profane" purposes has been compiled by the Israeli government; its accuracy has not been challenged by any church authorities. Christian leaders admit the extent of the Arab attacks and depredations, and having admitted it they keep their mouths primly shut.

After seeing what happened in Jerusalem, after talking there and in Nazareth to Jewish leaders and army officers, I was left incredulous and angry at the complacent attitude of official Christendom. Why the silence?

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Why no demand by the churches that the Arab states put a stop to the destruction of Holy Places? Why no effective protest in the United Nations? Why, above all, the constant propaganda alleging Jewish desecration of shrines and the failure of Jewish authorities to protect religious institutions?

Wherever I went I asked about the behavior of Israeli troops and officials. Nowhere did I hear a single important charge against them. Every religious establishment was posted with signs reading: "Holy Place—Entrance Forbidden," or "Holy Place—Out of Bounds to Troops." The restrictions applied to Moslem and Christian sites alike. Bartley Crum, who as a Roman Catholic took a particular interest in the question, has documents showing that the Israeli authorities, in the midst of the fighting, decreed the death penalty for soldiers that were caught looting or damaging church property.

This does not mean that such things never occurred. A war has been waged in Palestine with bitter feeling on both sides. Individual Jewish soldiers did loot; some damage was done to religious objects. But these acts were carried out in defiance of orders; the culprits were denounced by the Israel authorities with what I thought an exaggerated degree of feeling; and after all the rumors and facts had been sifted, it was freely admitted by the competent religious representatives on the spot that not a single church or mosque had been destroyed by Israeli forces.

IN NAZARETH almost everything is a "holy place." Here one has a real chance to see how things work under Israeli control, for the ancient city surrendered to the Jewish forces after very little fighting. The behavior of the Arabs was unique: the whole population remained when the Iraqi troops fled, and an agreement was quickly reached between the local Arab authorities and the officers commanding the Israeli troops. Searches were made for arms or Arab soldiers who might have stayed behind in the religious establishments where they had been quartered. This brought some protests, but the occupying authorities settled the matter by decreeing that further searches of such places should be conducted only in the presence of a representative of the church concerned. A few complaints were made: a military car damaged a garden gate at the monastery of the Salesian Brothers; the curfew interfered with a service at a Greek Orthodox church; a few table glasses, a scythe, and a hatchet were stolen from a small country house belonging to the convent of the Dames de Nazareth. But most of the numerous churches, convents, hospices, and monasteries reported everything in order and services being held as usual. And the Nazareth Town Council, an all-Arab body comprising three Roman Catholics, three Greek Orthodox, and three Moslems, officially declared that the Holy Places of all denominations had been treated with complete respect, and that there had been no interference with the community's religious life.

In the company of Bartley Crum and a few others, I talked to the Jewish military governor of Nazareth, Elish Salz, and then to various Christian leaders, Arab and non-Arab. Salz, like many Israeli officers, is a farmer who looks upon his service in the army as an unwelcome interruption of life in his kibbutz. His relations with the Arab mayor and chief judge and council are good; he interferes very little with their administration of the city. The government had granted Nazareth a loan for a new water supply, and special rations had been allotted to the town's twenty-five monasteries and convents. At the request of the papal representative there, Salz had distributed an additional quota of white flour to the poorer Arabs. The wages of all Arab workers, as elsewhere in Israel, had been raised to equal those of Jewish workers. He had no trouble with any group, and the only complaints now were against travel restrictions, which really could not be lifted as long as the fighting continued: they applied alike to Moslems, Christians, and Jews. Whenever possible he gave travel permits to priests and other religious dignitaries, even when they were citizens of neighboring enemy states. He urged us to see everything and talk freely to the town officials and the representatives of the various sects.

In Nazareth the old life is unchanged. Here Arabs in their cotton gowns walk freely through the streets; women, veiled and unveiled, gather at Mary's Well, where the mother of Jesus is supposed to have drawn water, and fill their earthenware jugs and their gasoline tins; good Arab food is served in restaurants; and people speak without rancor.

We talked to various people. First, outside the governor's headquarters, to a bishop of the Greek Orthodox church who represented all the Christian churches in their dealings with the Israeli authorities. He was eloquent and reassuring. He believed things would work out all right and that peace would be established in Palestine. He praised the Israeli officials and said no damage whatsoever had been done to any religious establishment. He had one grievance: his car had been requisitioned and he wanted it back. That was all—the only Jewish offense he could think of. (Bartley Crum was assured by the Israeli military that the car would be returned as soon as possible.)

We talked to a Franciscan priest, the vicar in charge of the See of Galilee. He was a little cautious, admittedly waiting for word from the Vatican about the measures that would be demanded for the protection of the churches. But he denied that any acts of desecration had been committed and said he had no complaints to make. The same things were said by several other priests and monks; and all of them took pride in the peaceful and

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orderly progress of affairs in Nazareth, which they attributed to the brief duration of the fighting, the rapid establishment of Israeli authority, and the sober, steady behavior of the population and its leaders. In Nazareth I realized for the first time how the mixed community of Israel might, if it were let alone, succeed in making a common life under decent, democratic auspices. By contrast Jerusalem was a symbol of systematic brutality, its life disorganized, its future threatened, its somber beauty damaged forever by a military machine as unconcerned with tradition or other human values as that of Hitler or Tojo.

As we drove through the Galilean hills toward Haifa I thought again about the silence of the churches. Was it caused by a deep, unconscious anti-Semitism, or by a still deeper feeling of identification with Western imperialism, a feeling more compelling than faith itself? The behavior of Christendom in the face of the Moslem assault is one of the most cynical and disturbing facts of recent history.

# *Peru Moves Backward*

BY PEDRO HERNANDEZ ZELAYA

[*The Apra Party in Peru, against which the military rightist government of General Odría has directed a violent campaign of repression, had become the most important progressive force in the country. Many observers believe that if President Bustamante had made an effective coalition with Apra, he would not have been ousted by the present dictator, General Odría. But Bustamante tried to rule through an independent centrist government opposed both by Apra and the extreme right. The attempt was doomed to failure, and the events which have followed Odría's coup have wiped out all the gains made during three years of more or less constitutional rule in Peru. The author of the article which follows is a member of Apra, now in exile, and a distinguished journalist. He is writing under a nom-de-plume.*]

*Santiago, Chile, December*

WITHOUT firing a shot—the military have the habit of quickly reaching an accord among themselves so that soldiers will not have to fight soldiers—General Manuel Odría and a group of army chiefs with fascist ideas took over the Presidential Palace at Lima, which had just been vacated by Dr. Bustamante y Rivera. No one cheered the victors as they made their entrance, escorted by a double column of soldiers with fixed bayonets; the crowds were kept at a distance, and their shouts were for Aprismo.

Odría's coup was the culmination of a series of events which had created a tense and confused situation. First a strike by a small rightist minority had kept the Congress from functioning. In consequence the Bustamante government had decided to rule by decree, thus repeatedly violating the constitution. An armed insurrection in defense of the constitution followed. Instigation of the revolt was attributed to the Aprista Party, which was promptly declared illegal without being given a hearing. Finally came the uprising in Arequipa led by General Odría, who apparently believed in the old Spanish proverb: "When the river is roily, the fishing is good."

All this had but one cause—the resistance of Peruvian rightists, and of President Bustamante himself, to the fundamental principle that the will of the majority should prevail. In order to keep the Apristas out of the government some curious arguments had been invented. The party was accused of being "totalitarian" because it demanded "total" power by virtue of being a majority in the nation. By the same token the British Labor Party and the Democratic Party in the United States could be called totalitarian, since they exercise "total" power after winning democratic elections.

The real purpose of the right was to block the Apristas' program of social reform. Peru has hardly a quarter-hectare of arable land per person, and any plan to increase the amount by irrigation would lessen the value of the land now available. Some 60 per cent of the people are illiterate, and if new schools taught the peasants to read and do sums, they could not be deceived so easily. Development of the Sechura oil fields would be fatal to the cotton and sugar barons, who pay wages of three and a half sols a day, for the North American oil companies pay their workers eighteen sols. These are examples of the changes Apra proposes and the right resists.

For more than a hundred years a small but powerful group has ruled the country as a vast feudal domain, and it does not want to lose its privileges. Since there are few artisans in Peru, new industries would draw the peons away from the plantations and transform docile domestic servants into restless factory workers. Democracy would bring these and other calamities to the old colonial overlords. They have regarded the God of the Catholics, whom they say they worship, and the military, whom they respect, as the guardians of their wealth. Naturally, therefore, they call on the church and the army to defend them when their interests are threatened.

The Peruvian army, product of its milieu, is said to be 60 per cent illiterate. Feared and flattered by all factions, it is prone to believe that it can solve all

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political and economic problems with the methods of the barracks. Nobody in the army doubts that he could save the republic. Like Napoleon's veterans, all the soldiers carry Presidential sashes in their knapsacks. To incite them to action, Odría needed only to suggest that the army should resolve the administrative chaos.

But the crowd now in power has no program. Its only purpose in rising against Bustamante was to repress the Apristas more relentlessly. Bustamante had crushed the armed revolt and mowed down with machine-guns the four hundred sailors and civilians who surrendered in the fortress of Real Felipe in Callao, out of which their bodies were carted by the truckload. But that did not satisfy Odría and his bloodthirsty accomplices.

The best-known member of the gang is Commandant Llosa González Pavón, who in 1942 was exposed by Allied intelligence officers as a dangerous Nazi. He was corresponding at that time from La Paz with the Peruvian fascist leader Luis Flores, then in exile in Valparaiso. He proposed to Flores that they start a revolution against the "filthy North American imperialism." Later he was the mentor of the Bolivian fascist uprising and was annoyed because the followers of Paz Estenssoro did not take his advice to hang four hundred prominent Bolivians from the lamp-posts of the Plaza Murilla. Some months ago, when drunk, he invaded the office of the Aprista daily, *La Tribuna*, in Lima and tried to shoot fifty employees with a machine-gun; luckily, the gun jammed.

While Minister of the Interior in Bustamante's Cabinet, Odría quarreled with the President because he refused to order people shot, imprisoned, or exiled without the slightest excuse. Odría, moreover, is violently anti-North American and pro-Perón. He refused to allow exploitation of the oil in Sechura on the ground that that would be a surrender to Yanqui imperialism. In this matter he shared the views of the Communists.

Now the Communist Party has been outlawed by Odría and like Tito's party in Yugoslavia is no longer linked to the Soviet Union. The representative of the Cominform in Peru is Eudocia Ravines, or Jorge Montero, who is one of Odría's confidential friends. Ravines was an agent of the Third International in Spain and Chile, and his son is a student in Moscow. He was deported to Mexico by Bustamante but returned in glory when Odría came to power. He has concealed his connection with the Cominform and emphasized his break with the Peruvian Communists.

One cannot say what the future holds, but dark days must be expected for Peru. A country cannot always remain the property of a feudal minority which blocks all progress. But neither can a movement like the Aprista Party maintain itself indefinitely underground.

# *FHA—Profits Before Housing*

BY ALFRED STEINBERG

*Washington, December 20*

WITH the Democrats in control of Congress, the housing issue may be settled by New Deal techniques. Yet any housing measure enacted will to a large extent be nullified unless something is done about the Federal Housing Administration. Nathan Straus, a well-known authority on housing, said in a moment of exasperation, "The reason we fail to get more houses is that the industry is wedded to an antiquated, inefficient, but highly profitable way of doing business—and wants to keep it that way." But that is only part of the story: the FHA wants to keep it that way, too.

When the FHA was created in 1934, its chief function was to encourage banks to begin taking mortgages again. Mortgages and real-estate values were in a state of collapse, and building activities were negligible. Brave souls who wanted to build soon learned that the banking profession considered any economic expansion a risky proposition. The few banks that did make credit available restricted mortgage loans to five years, charged 6 or 7 per cent interest, and covered only up to 50 per cent of the assessed valuation.

With FHA's arrival the picture changed. By relinquishing their own right to set property and valuation standards, banks could in return acquire a firm guaranty against a substantial portion of the risk involved in the mortgage business. They jumped at the chance. For loans up to $5,400 FHA insured up to 90 per cent of value, with a twenty-five-year amortization period and at a rate of interest of 4 to 4½ per cent.

Housing got a tremendous fillip from FHA, considering the general depression. But once the mortgage market was stimulated, FHA took no further steps; it simply continued to stimulate the mortgage market. Holding fast to its immediate objective, it lost sight of the New Deal goal—to bring better and lower-cost housing to the people. Today, fourteen years later, FHA is still operating in that same narrow dimension. But whereas it originally stimulated the general mortgage field, today it is restricting its insurance to the highest-

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class mortgages, those in which the least risk is involved —that is, mortgages on high-cost, conventional buildings. For this reason the housing program of the Eighty-first Congress, if it is tied to FHA, is doomed to failure.

THERE are many reasons why FHA now actually obstructs low-cost housing: it has become the largest single investor in real estate in the entire country; it is a big money maker; its field offices have too much authority; its policy-determining personnel have stayed too long in their posts.

Despite their immense holdings none of our real-estate investment-loan firms can compare with FHA. From 1934 through the first quarter of 1948 almost $12,000,000,000 in mortgages and property-improvement loans were guaranteed by FHA. And with this financial authority FHA has become a powerful, conservative banker, with the same motivation as other powerful, conservative bankers.

FHA was one of the few government agencies applauded by the notorious Eightieth Congress—and for a good reason: it required no Congressional appropriation. Its earnings record has for years been the envy of private industry. Through 1947 its income from fees, premiums, and investments totaled $285,419,537, while its operating expenses for the same period were only $160,483,611. In the one year 1947 its net income after operating expenses were paid was $31,511,205! To show a profit has become FHA's mania.

FHA's local offices are an example of exaggerated decentralization. National rulings serve them merely as guides. The national office decides general property standards and basic appraisal principles, but from that point on the field officers are their own boss. The theory behind this grant of independent authority was that since final decisions had to be made locally, any national action would cause delay. The local offices are permitted autonomy over architectural design, thermal conditions, location, sustained market value, and valuation. The resulting hodgepodge is amazing. Halls in Texas have to be four inches wider than in the rest of the country; utility rooms in Illinois have to be larger than elsewhere. Besides all this, the local offices carry on a continuous competition to amass the best earnings record.

As in many other New Deal agencies, FHA personnel has become tired, bored, and job-security conscious. The spark has disappeared and only routine remains.

FHA opposes the novel and untried because it represents risk. If something new in housing should turn out to be a failure, FHA's profits would be reduced. If it should succeed, the conservative mortgages now covered by FHA would drop in value. In the past twelve years more than 700 types of new construction materials tested and approved by the Bureau of Standards, the Department of Agriculture, and the Forest Products Laboratory have been submitted to FHA for rulings as to their acceptability. Only a few have been approved.

What FHA has done to the prefabricated industry is not a pleasant story. There is not one successful prefabrication firm in the United States today. By setting prejudiced, low valuations on prefab houses and thus requiring unreasonably large down payments, by refusing to alter its inspection timing system to take into consideration differences in construction from the conventional house, by refusing to coordinate the myriad local requirements so that the prefab manufacturer could produce a "national" product and thus keep his costs down, FHA has held prefabricated building to a minimum. It has done so despite its assertion in many pamphlets that only by mass-production techniques can housing costs be brought within reach of the average family.

Unfortunately, the now defunct Veterans' Emergency Housing Program relied heavily on the prefab industry. An inkling of FHA's role in that program can be gained from a memorandum written on September 25, 1946, by Wilson Wyatt, head of the program, to Raymond Foley, then administrator of FHA. In this memo Wyatt complained that "the difficult thing is to get every member of such a large organization as yours fully aware of its significance and act accordingly. This is particularly difficult when a policy differs so sharply from normal mortgage underwriting principles." He went on to remind Foley that the test of a good housing program was the number of houses built and not the establishment of a record showing no financial loss. In a memo to his FHA staff Raymond Foley told his field personnel on October 10, 1946, to change temporarily its normal practice because "this new policy is of great importance in the light of our public position of encouragement of new methods, materials, techniques in an effort to produce low-cost housing." Unfortunately for the Wyatt program, the practice was never changed.

LET us consider now what lies ahead. Plans of the Eighty-first Congress for low-cost housing will come to naught unless FHA gets out of its groove—either voluntarily or through Congressional amendment of its functions. The aim of government in the field of private housing should be to aid in the development of the lower-price market, which today is almost completely ignored. Instead of helping home-owners incidentally by insuring banks and mortgage companies, FHA should help them directly by taking on many of the mortgage risks that banks do not care to handle, especially those that promote the development of the lower-cost prefabricated house. Attention should be given to reducing interest rates and removing some of the burdensome charges connected with buying a house. FHA's earnings rate would of course be lowered and its popularity with backward members of Congress and with its soulmate,

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the building lobby, would decline, but since when has it been a government agency's function to make money?

Local autonomy to decide the many points that cry for national standards must end. Otherwise, houses cannot be produced for a mass market, with resulting lower unit costs. Venture capital must be encouraged to flow into these dollar-dry prefabricated housing firms either through according them the same treatment as conventional construction or, if necessary at the outset, through government subsidies.

The housing industry is in reality a pioneer industry today. It has thousands of new materials, methods, and techniques ready for use. Mass-production awaits the green light.

# *Russia's War of Words*

BY SAUL K. PADOVER

> All effective propaganda has to limit itself to a very few points and to use them like slogans until even the very last man is able to imagine what is intended by such a word.—ADOLF HITLER, in "Mein Kampf."

HAVING been formerly engaged in psychological warfare against Germany, I have been interested recently in checking on how the Soviets are doing in their psychological attacks on us. The following report is based upon monitored broadcasts and interviews with experts.

First of all it should be emphasized that Communist Russians are masters of propaganda. They may not necessarily be the most skilled masters, but they are certainly the most dedicated. Unlike Americans, they are strong believers in its political efficacy. Secondly, we should realize that the Soviet propaganda apparatus is beyond question one of the major forces shaping the world today.

Back in July, 1905, Lenin wrote, "Propaganda is of crucial importance for the eventual triumph of the [Communist] Party." The Bolshevik Revolution, he also said, was "successful because it knew how to combine force with persuasion." Today two of the most respected words in Russia's political dictionary are *agitatzia* and *propaganda*. They describe what has become an influential new profession. Agitators and propagandists are, in effect, the priests of communism, intrusted with the task of keeping alive the flame of the red political faith. Only the most loyal party members are permitted to hold jobs in any way connected with "public enlightenment." A non-Communist may be a doctor or engineer, but he is barred from journalism, publishing, radio.

All propaganda and "enlightenment" activities are directed by the Communist Party and not by the Soviet government. The Administration of Agitation and Propaganda, or *Agitprop*, is an integral part of the Central Committee of the party. It controls all thought and expression, including music, art, and science.

Included in *Agitprop* are a host of agencies which employ together, it is believed, some 1,400,000 full-time, paid propagandists. These form a highly disciplined body of "ideological" troops and operate like a military organization. The "chain of command" begins with the Moscow chief of *Agitprop* and goes down through metropolitan, provincial, county, city, town, and village *Agitpunkts* to the humblest cells. Nowhere along this immense conveyor belt is the individual agitator-propagandist allowed to exercise any critical faculty. His duty is to obey, to follow the "line."

The output of this gigantic apparatus is distributed mainly to the Russian people. Only a fraction of it goes abroad. But even that is produced by an organization infinitely larger than any similar agency in the United States or even Great Britain. Its Radio Committee broadcasts in many languages. Twenty-five hours of radio time are devoted to European audiences daily; the Far East gets six hours and Latin America three hours. In November of this year Moscow began a new weekly broadcast addressed to the "millions of Slavs" in the United States (every Thursday, 7 p. m., E. S. T.).

THE Soviet propaganda against the United States follows three main lines, each intended to undermine the credit and besmirch the good name of America.

1. *The United States is corrupt and is run by big business.* This theme is repeated with countless variations. Here is an example taken from a broadcast in French beamed to Europe:

> Corruption is rife in the United States government as well as in political parties. . . . Corruption in war industry . . . which throws a peculiar light on the morals of dollar diplomacy. The criminal activities of the group of senior United States officers during World War II are too well known to require further comment. One of them was General Meyers. . . . Unheard of venality, graft, and perversity thrive in the shadow of the much-vaunted United States democracy.

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The tie-up between the United States government and Wall Street is constantly emphasized. Another broadcast to Europe said:

> The United States Defense Department is wholly in the hands of the biggest Wall Street business men, headed by Secretary of Defense James Forrestal, ex-president of the big banking concern Dillon, Read and Company. . . . At the same time a powerful detachment of Wall Street's emissaries has passed to the arena of foreign policy. Here one sees the same combination of generals and direct representatives of monopoly capital.

These same capitalists, Moscow reminds its hearers, had "criminal connections" with the Nazis before World War II. "No less monstrous is the fact that American capital not only helped Germany in preparing the Second World War but also aided the Nazis" in waging it.

2. *The United States is a warmonger.* Commenting on the United States budget of 1948-49, the Russians have observed that most of the money is devoted to military purposes. Appropriations for military research, they have pointed out, are thirty-three times as great as for agricultural science; education gets only 1 per cent of the total budget. (Of course, they refrain from mentioning that education in this country is not a federal matter.) "A rattling of sabers can be heard in America's new budget."

3. *The United States is imperialist, and the Marshall Plan is an instrument of imperialism.* This theme is stressed in nearly every broadcast to every country. The essence of the argument is that capitalism must have foreign markets, and therefore "dollar diplomacy" is out to dominate and "enslave" the world.

To Scandinavia the Russian radio broadcasts that the American imperialist "stretches out his arms also to territory belonging to the Scandinavians. . . . American military and financial circles have not given up the idea of possessing Greenland." Wall Street, it says, wants to get Greenland in exchange for dollar aid, and the War Department is planning bases "on the territory of Denmark itself."

To Italy it beams:

> De Gasperi has confirmed his complete readiness to hand over Italy to American capital. . . . American capitalists undermine the foundations of Italy's national economy. . . . American monopolists are striving to complete the work of destruction which the Hitlerite occupation had no time to achieve.

To Great Britain: The American loan of $3.750 billion has put Britain in bondage to Washington. Worse terms could hardly have been invented. "The Americans have never done anything without good solid profits."

To Turkey: Turkish reactionary militarists have handed over the country to American imperialists. Turkey's "economy, finance, politics, and armed forces are being subjected to ever-growing control by the Americans." American aid is destroying Turkey's native industries.

The most deadly instrument of the American imperialists, say the Soviet propagandists, is the Marshall Plan. It was designed for three purposes: (1) to make the world dependent upon the United States, (2) to reduce the standard of living of workers everywhere, and (3) to save American capitalism from collapse. The people of Europe are warned that this American conspiracy, far from restoring the European economy, will only make it fatally dependent upon the United States, which is "plunging headlong into economic crisis."

Various outright lies about the United States form a fourth and less important line in Soviet propaganda. One of these lies is that the United States is looting Germany and making enormous profits there—an accusation that is repeated by Soviet diplomats. Thus at the London conference last year Molotov said: "Whole concerns are being bought from German industrialists at low prices. American and British capital is penetrating into German industry." (So far at least this charge is absolutely without foundation.) Still other canards have been that the United States was organizing German "fascist-gangster" police, that American food was poisoning innocent Japanese, that American military courts were protecting Japan's "top militarists."

HOW is the United States countering this worldwide propaganda offensive? Not brilliantly, it must be admitted. The State Department's Voice of America broadcasts news in some thirty languages a few hours a day, but there is no creative program, no adequate trained staff for this kind of work. The Voice's budget is picayune, a mere $18,000,000, grudgingly granted. There seems to be no nation-wide realization of the need for a fighting informational agency, such as OWI tried to be during the last war, to combat Soviet propaganda assaults.

In consequence the Russians seem to be winning the war of words. The Voice of America penetrates few places and gains few adherents. An American correspondent traveling abroad last summer reported that during six months in Europe and the Near East he failed to find a citizen of any country who remembered hearing any State Department broadcasts. "In Greece and Egypt," he said, "where the United States is the target of bitter anti-American propaganda, the Voice of America was as silent on the issues involved as it was in Italy."

It might be a wise move to take all propaganda activities out of the State Department and set up an independent agency, with a board of experienced civilian consultants. Certainly Congress should allocate to the work a sum at least ten times as large as the present

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budget. (Even then, the cost would be less than that of a battleship.) In addition, a school should be set up to train qualified persons in political-psychological warfare.

We are in the midst of a tremendous struggle for the minds and hearts of a large part of mankind. We need a corps of skilled and devoted men who can wage political warfare for democracy. It is interesting to recall that a similar need was felt 170 years ago and was expressed picturesquely if ironically by a signer of the Declaration of Independence. "Weapons of less moral but not less dangerous effect," Francis Hopkinson wrote to the editor of the *New Jersey Gazette* in January, 1778, "are exercised against us by the enemy, and we are very deficient on our parts. It is now high time that Congress should enable us to meet the foe with equal arms. In short, we want men of abilities to serve the United States in the capacity of *public liars!*"

Well, they needn't be liars.

# *Something Brewing in Iran*

BY JAMES F. LAWLOR

*Teheran, December*

ONE can walk into the National Bank of Iran in Teheran and change one's dollars into Persian rials at the black-market rate. One can then buy an airplane ticket to New York for hardly more than a third of the stated price in dollars. There is no secrecy here about the black market; everyone takes advantage of it. Just as in China, where the government is perhaps even weaker than in Iran, one can work wonders with Swiss francs or American dollars. British pounds and Russian rubles do not rank so high, but they too are eagerly sought. With foreign currency one can buy friends and the means of defending oneself against one's enemies, even against the gendarmerie if necessary.

The central government not only exhibits its traditional weakness, but frequently changes, the parade of prime ministers being matched only by the similar vicissitudes of French politics. The Communists, a small, well-integrated group, are the only organized political party worthy of the name. After the débâcle in Azerbaijan in 1946, which greatly damaged their prestige, they remained quiet until this summer, when they took advantage of the growing discontent to open a new campaign. Greatly intensifying their activities, they sent agents even into the southern part of the country, where they had never ventured before. They evidently met with considerable response, for in September several high British intelligence officers who had been here during the war returned to Iran and shortly after arriving in Teheran left for the south. Powerful tribesmen, especially the Turkish Qashgais, control the south, and the central government must keep on good terms with them to govern even the towns. These tribesmen have always been deadly enemies of the Communists. It is an open secret that they are subsidized by the British, but recent rumor has it that they are dissatisfied and looking for other benefactors. It is highly improbable that the Communist agents can win over the tribal chieftains, but they are willing to try.

Strangely enough, the Persians are afraid that an understanding may be reached between the Soviets and the British, a remote possibility in other parts of the world but not in Iran. Before World War I the country was divided into Russian and British spheres of influence, and there are indications that both sides would now like to stabilize the situation in the same way. Several months ago the Persian government declared that a band about fifty miles deep around the frontiers of the country was forbidden territory for foreigners. In order to travel in any border area a foreigner had to get special permission from the army and local governor. It soon became apparent that foreigners unfriendly to the Russians were denied permission to travel in the northern border zone and that those regarded with disfavor by the British could not enter the southern zone. Old Persia hands at the British Foreign Office are convinced that this is the best way to handle the political mess which is Iran today. The Americans here, most of whom are newcomers on the scene, are swinging toward this point of view, although a few diehard liberals think that Iran might yet be able to form a stable, democratic government. Only since the war have Americans begun to realize the significance of Iran in world politics.

Its strategic position is evident from a glance at the map. During the war it was a land bridge for Allied supplies to the Soviet Union's back door. Now that the Soviets have moved much of their heavy industry to the Ural Mountains, Siberia, and Central Asia, it leads to the front gate, and the men in the Kremlin recognize the danger to these factories in the east from an enemy using Iran as a base. For the Soviets, Iran and Turkey are like two stationary aircraft carriers close to Russian industrial centers.

Together with Iraq and Arabia, Iran rests upon the

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largest sea of oil in the world. With reserves dwindling in other parts of the world, the Middle Eastern oil fields are a weapon of prime importance in the cold war between Russia and the West. The Soviet Union obtains enough oil from the Caucasus and newly developed fields in Siberia for peace-time purposes, but war is another thing. For Great Britain oil from Iran is a vital necessity. More important, from the Russian point of view, the flying time from Teheran to Baku, Soviet oil center, is only a few hours. Naturally both the Russians and the British fear the establishment of a strong central government in Iran which they could not mold into the shape they desire.

The United States wishes to uphold the political integrity of Iran in accordance with the declaration of the Big Three at the Teheran conference in 1943. We also want to trade with it on a free basis. The Russians are not pleased by Iran's growing trade with the United States and Britain. In 1938 the Soviet Union accounted for roughly 32 per cent of Iran's commercial imports and 35 per cent of its exports, as against the United States' share of 8 per cent of each, and Great Britain's approximately equal amount. Germany filled 25 per cent of Iran's import orders and took 30 per cent of its exports. After the war German trade was largely taken over by the United States and the British dominions. In 1946 the figures for the United States had risen to 23 and 18 per cent, roughly the same as those for the U. S. S. R. in the same year, and the share of the United Kingdom in Iran's imports and exports had advanced to about 18 and 12 per cent.

All signs indicate that something is brewing in Iran. If the U. S. S. R. and Britain cannot make a deal, with the tacit support of the United States, then the Soviets will certainly wage a campaign for political control of the country. Last summer Soviet border guards violated the frontier of Azerbaijan several times, and the war of nerves seemed to have started again. The guns of Soviet propaganda have not yet been brought to bear on Iran and its neighbor, Turkey, but there is evidence that the campaign is in preparation. If one listened to the discussions over the tea glasses in the cafes of Teheran, one would be convinced that this was the lull before the storm. At the moment the world is occupied with the Berlin question, but it might be well to remember that the Soviets have frequently raised a smoke screen in one part of the world to cover their moves in another. Iran is ripe for trouble.

# *Portugal: How to Win Elections*

BY JAIME DA SILVA

*Paris, December*

ON FEBRUARY 13 next a new President will be elected in Portugal. This fact is never mentioned in the Portuguese press. The President will be elected by direct vote, but the electorate does not know who the candidates will be. It will not know until the government designates someone on the eve of the election. Then the people will vote for him, and everything will be in order. For twenty-two years elections have been like that in Portugal.

The present President, Marshal Carmona, has been in office for more than twenty years, a record broken only by President Gomez of Venezuela. His reelection is out of the question, for he has not been in the good graces of the government for some time. He has told his friends that he is kept in virtual seclusion by the head of the government and allowed no contacts with the people, no participation in the life of the country. "I am there simply to receive visits," he is said to have admitted.

These facts were disclosed in the First Military Court of Lisbon last July by witnesses at the trial of Admiral Cabeçadas and others for conspiring against the President of the Republic. The accused defended themselves by saying that they had simply tried to liberate President Carmona from his jailers.

With Carmona out of the running, the people are waiting for Salazar to present his candidate. He is such a modest man that he has not yet done so. He is waiting until he himself is offered the Presidency as a token of the people's gratitude for the many services he has rendered them. The ungrateful Portuguese have not made this gesture. Admiral Magalhaes Correia, a former Minister of Colonies and High Commissioner at Tangier, is spoken of as a possible official candidate, but his friends say he would not accept unless certain liberties were re-established—liberty of the press, of association, and so on—which for the Portuguese are only a memory. That of course rules him out.

THERE is one opposition candidate, General Norton de Mattos, but he is never mentioned in Portugal. Now eighty-one years old, he was Minister of War in the Government of Sacred Union from 1915 to 1917 and organized the Portuguese Expeditionary Corps which

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fought in Flanders at the side of the French and English. In 1921 he was made High Commissioner of the Portuguese Republic at Angola and later became ambassador to London.

General Norton de Mattos is a liberal of the type of the English liberals of half a century ago. He is a democrat, pure and simple. He has a serene and reflective mind. For more than a year, giving his great age as his excuse, he resisted the demands of his friends —that is, of the great majority of Portuguese democrats—that he announce himself a candidate for the Presidency. Last April he decided to sacrifice his tranquillity to the wishes of his compatriots, and in July he presented to the Supreme Court the petition required by the Portuguese constitution. It bore over a thousand names, although only two hundred are necessary, and was received by the clerk of the court as in due and proper form. The constitution provides that the Supreme Court, in session, must accept the candidate, but at this writing the court has not complied with that formality. Its excuse is that it has not had time to study the case. As a matter of fact, the court was astounded, as was the government. It was incredible that anyone should dare to offer himself as a candidate without having obtained the government's consent. Alleging the complexity of the legal process, the court wisely awaits the decision of the Prime Minister.

*Prime Minister Salazar*

A few days after he presented his petition General Norton de Mattos held a press conference for representatives of Portuguese newspapers and foreign correspondents at Lisbon and read them his campaign manifesto, entitled "To the Nation." In it he said: "It is plain that the candidate is opposed to the present political regime. But he represents a powerful current in public opinion, a current that cannot be checked. Honored by his selection, he will fight to defend his rights, with the sole motive of serving the national interest." Portuguese papers were allowed to print only the following brief note about the interview: "Yesterday General Norton de Mattos explained to representatives of the national and foreign press his reasons for presenting himself as a revolutionary candidate against the regime and revealed his program." It is believed that the word "revolutionary" was used instead of "opposition" so that the Supreme Court would refuse the petition on the ground that the candidate proposed to lead a revolution against the government.

Actually the manifesto was very moderate in tone and based securely on the constitution. It affirmed the candidate's intention to reestablish civil liberties, and by virtue of the powers given by the constitution to the President of the Republic to promulgate a liberal election law so that a constitutional assembly might be elected to revise the constitution. The present constitution, it should be pointed out, is simply a charter given by Salazar to his people; it was never discussed or voted on by a constitutional or legislative assembly. It provides, however, for revision after five years, and since that time has elapsed, revision would not damage the majesty of the law.

General Norton de Mattos has declared to his friends that if he is elected he intends to resign from the Presidency as soon as a revision of the constitution has been voted. If the new document is as democratic as he foresees it will be, he will leave to younger men the task of reorganizing Portugal along new lines. If the delegates decide to keep the totalitarian system or to bring back the monarchy, he will bow to the will of the people's elected representatives and retire.

The government does not allow him to do any campaigning. Newspapers are forbidden by the censor even to print his name. The house where he lives is constantly surrounded by political police, who note every person that enters. When he wrote a letter of protest to the government, Salazar's cabinet secretary replied that there was as yet no mention of the official candidate either; the campaign would open on January 1, forty-five days before the election. General Norton de Mattos refuted this statement in a long letter, dated October 12, in which he said that since the official candidate had not yet been designated, he was naturally not talked about, but that the current propaganda about the alleged benefits of the regime was for the purpose of influencing the election results. Whoever the candidate was, he would represent the regime. The democratic ideas of the opposition candidate, on the other hand, were almost unknown. Discussion of them had been forbidden for twenty-two years. A whole generation of electors had grown up ignorant of the blessings of democracy. The views of the opposition should at least be made public so that the voters would be qualified to choose.

Unable to publish in the Portuguese press either his manifesto, "To the Nation," or his letters of protest to the head of the government, General Norton de Mattos has had them printed in a book—the manifesto in both French and English translations—together with an account of all the obstacles placed in the way of his candidacy. This book is circulated secretly and is the best possible election propaganda.

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# *Del Vayo*—on the First "Citizen of the World"

NO REPORT on Europe in 1948 would be complete without a word about Garry Davis. Americans will hardly be able to understand the enthusiam that their ex-countryman has aroused in the self-contained, sophisticated, and weary people of Europe. Parisians were concerned lest with all the strikes and social unrest the Palais Chaillot should not be ready to receive the foreign delegations on the day appointed for the opening of the United Nations Assembly. Every Sunday afternoon they went to see how the work had progressed and to admire the splendid view of the Eiffel Tower and the Champ de Mars. Then one day they discovered a new attraction. The first person to call himself a "citizen of the world" had appeared on the scene.

Girls gave him their best smiles. Fathers pointed him out to their sons: "That is the American who wants to transform the world." The fat woman who sells magazines in the Trocadero station of the subway gazed at him from her stand and murmured: "Poor little man! So good, so gentle! If he thinks he is going to get rid of all those scoundrelly politicians, how disappointed he will be. If only we had a man as decent as that in the Food Ministry to let Frenchmen get a taste of beefsteak!" The policeman on the beat said to the crowd standing around, "Move on, move on. Nothing will happen to the American. We are in the country of the Rights of Man."

So for some days Garry Davis saw the dawn from one of the most charming corners of Paris and watched the fine old trees cast their embellishing shadows on the ancient palaces. He did some gymnastics in the open air; gave "chewgum" to the children of the quarter; smoked a Lucky with the workman who came down from the scaffolding to shake his hand; became the little hero of the neighborhood. He received gifts and flowers, a book of poems signed by its author. Enjoying the mild September weather, he solved for a while, in glorious surroundings, the Paris housing problem, which is quite as acute as that of New York. Then, on the day before the Assembly opened, the French authorities decided the moment had come to invade the "international territory" of the Palais Chaillot, where on a spot some meters square Garry Davis had set up his camp bed and laid the first stone of the edifice of world government.

In the following days of tension and dispute people forgot the crusade for universal citizenship. The policeman's prediction was fulfilled. Though Garry Davis had no papers after he renounced his nationality and returned his passport to the American embassy, he was allowed to stay in Paris. The Swiss, in spite of the obligations imposed on them by their consciousness of being "the oldest democracy in Europe," showed themselves less tolerant toward a revolutionary intent to destroy frontiers and custom houses: when a second "citizen of the world" installed himself at Geneva without permission of the authorities, he was expelled from the country. The Swiss had no sympathy for an ideological tourism which brought in nothing to hotels and threatened to internationalize cheese and chocolate.

But when the Assembly had almost reached its end, the mission of the young American, seemingly on the point of failure, received an astonishing new impetus. People were impatient for some positive sign of accomplishment. One day 2,000 persons gathered to hear his message of peace; the next week 20,000 heard him; two nights later the *intelligenzia* of Paris paid him tribute at a memorable meeting in the Salle Pleyel. The excellent cartoonist of *Figaro* had made one of the first jokes about him, a drawing called "Davis luttant contre Goliath"; now a cartoon appeared somewhere else: "Goliath trying to defend himself against Davis." It was an indication of how the movement for Garry Davis was gaining momentum.

Americans would be gravely mistaken if they thought that the European intellectuals who went to hear him in the Salle Pleyel were merely amusing themselves. Albert Camus, whose new play, "L'Etat de siège," is one of the season's successes; André Breton; Jean-Paul Sartre; the Italian Carlo Levi, whose pictures and book aroused so much interest in New York last year; the German Theodor Plievier, author of "Stalingrad"—all these sat on the platform where Garry Davis occupied the place of honor, and they did not go there simply to have a good time. I saw not only artists and writers but professors at the Sorbonne and leading representatives of the intellectual life of Paris wildly applauding Garry Davis. Next morning François Mauriac apologized in print for not being able to join the movement.

Americans should realize the significance of all this genuine and ardent feeling. No Garry Davis could have so fascinated the most critical and most intelligent people in the world if he had not come from the United States. This may sound flattering, but in a deeper sense it has serious implications. The response to Garry Davis's message dramatizes the fact that in the opinion of most Europeans whether or not there is to be a war depends upon the United States. That belief has nothing to do with the question of who is responsible for the present world crisis. Even those who put the original blame on Russia think that the ultimate decision of war or peace will be made by America. This is what lies behind the amazing conquest of France by *le petit Américain.*

The important fact to report about Europe in 1948 is the tremendous desire for peace which dominates and inspires the people. The curtain of fear which American propaganda has drawn around the atomic bomb has not intimidated Russia, but it has made Europeans stubborn defenders of peace. Even those who oppose communism say: "A Communist world would be terrible, a Russian occupation intolerable, but some day we could get free of all that. What no one could escape is the atomic bomb." The Western European powers can meet under the presidency of Field Marshal Montgomery; Congress can vote billions; this time the people of Europe will not march. The fact that an American rose up in the Palais Chaillot to challenge the threat of war explains the fantastic popularity of Garry Davis.

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# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## "RED GLOVES" AND "DIRTY HANDS"

BY LEO SAUVAGE

A NEW YORK columnist was speaking the other day about the "hullabaloo" created by Jean-Paul Sartre over the American version of his "Les Mains Sales." He insinuated that it was "merely a publicity stunt." But those who knew the play before it was hacked to pieces and presented as "Red Gloves" at the Mansfield (I mean, for example, Charles Boyer and Jean Dalrymple and even Daniel Taradash) and those who at least read Sartre's real play afterward (unhappily, with the exception of Max Lerner, none of the New York columnists did), all know that Sartre's protest was an act of legitimate self-defense. For what has happened to him on Forty-seventh Street is equivalent, in so far as his dramatic reputation is concerned, to assault and battery on his person.

Sartre, however, was ill informed on one point. He was led to believe that the play had been "arranged" from a political point of view to make it fit the frame of American "red-baiting." This is inexact, and it would be useless to search in the Mansfield text for tricks of this sort. On the other hand, it does not take long to see that the adaptation of Daniel Taradash transforms, deforms, and finally annihilates everything significant in the Sartre play. "Red Gloves" is not a dramatic adaptation; it is at best a "digest," a quick digest for a second-rate magazine, though even a tenth-rate magazine rarely uses digests so clumsy and unintelligent and so cynically unfaithful to the original.

It is true that, to know what had happened to his play in America, Sartre had to rely on second-hand information: Miss Dalrymple had not judged it necessary to send him the text that was being presented here under his name. It would even seem that the American producers consider it essential to hide this text from him, for several French journalists have tried in vain to get a copy of it from Miss Dalrymple or from Mr. Taradash himself; and their stubborn refusal seems to indicate *une mauvaise conscience.*

In New York at least it is easy to compare "Red Gloves" with the original "Dirty Hands," for the French text, published by Gallimard, is for sale in many bookstores. Even those who do not read French fluently can see to what degree the text of Mr. Taradash is different from that of Sartre, how it has rendered flat, colorless, and boring what was rich, palpitating, and full of life. They will see, at all events, the number, the importance, and the stupidity of the cuts, which eliminate some eighty pages out of two hundred—whole scenes and bits of dialogue all through the play which are essential to an understanding of the characters. The result is that these characters, in the murderous hands of Mr. Taradash, are no more than hollow puppets, floating where the surviving lines take them, scattered and haggard and emasculated.

Take Jessica. Poor Jessica! The critics pity Joan Tetzel for having to waste her talents on such an indefensible character, and they are right. She has to play a kind of rubber doll, without flesh or bones or brain, a more or less hysterical little imbecile forced to turn up in a game where she doesn't belong. But that is the Jessica of Mr. Taradash. Sartre's Jessica was drawn in a series of beautiful bitter-sweet exchanges with Hugo; the traits of her character were skilfully and gradually revealed in her dialogues with Hoederer and the bodyguards. She was—she still is, outside America—one of the most seductive characters in the drama of Sartre, a character at once real and theatrical, anchored in those poetic spheres where Sartre the philosopher touches the brilliant, winged lightness of a Giraudoux or a Pirandello. If Miss Tetzel read Sartre's text in a genuine translation, I am sure she would become enthusiastic about this character which she now drags about like a burden.

Of all her lines, indeed of all her traits of character, of all her bits of stage play, there remains nothing but, from time to time, a kind of résumé sentence, heavy, graceless, useless, and ridiculous, a twisted iron bar among the ruins of a bombardment. The whole play, anyway, is only a heap of ruins. Scenes full of dramatic tension—that of the search, for instance—are reduced to a painfully boring magma whose disastrous effect is aggravated by a heavy-handed direction. Some New York critics, who were justly harsh on Mr. Taradash—though they call him Sartre—have at the same time woven laurel wreaths for Jed Harris. For my part, I think that Mr. Harris put the finishing touches to a shameful job.

Leaving aside the amateurish impression produced by the puerile carryings-on of the bodyguards, there are at least two flagrant breaks in Mr. Harris's direction which have to be underlined. One is the banality of the ending, where the invasion of the stage by a group of uneasy killers stifles Hugo's cry of deliverance and release—"Not reclaimable!" The other failure is even more significant. The dramatic turning-point of the play comes when Hoederer gives Hugo a chance to kill him but Hugo, morally disarmed, doesn't shoot. None of my neighbors at the Mansfield noticed this climax, and with good reason: under Mr. Harris's direction it was simply a moment when Charles Boyer enjoys a cup of coffee.

Hoederer, by the way, is the only character left more or less intact in the comic-strip put together by MM. Taradash and Harris under the auspices of Miss Dalrymple. Evidently, since the part was being played by Charles Boyer, there was no question of cutting his lines, and Mr. Taradash in this case even made an effort to make a real translation. But since he has trampled with elephant feet on the rest of the text, there is a breaking of equilibrium and of dramatic proportion which alters the philosophic content of the play. For over against Hoederer there is Hugo, and the character of Hugo is quite meaningless after Mr. Taradash has cut out, at the beginning, a whole scene in which are revealed some of the psychological motives that lead Hugo first to solicit the mission of murder, then to recoil from it, then to accomplish it but in a different state of mind.

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## A GAME AT SALZBURG

A little ragged girl, our ball-boy;
A partner—ex-Afrika-Korps—
In khaki shorts, P. W. illegible.
(He said: "To have been a prisoner of war
In Colorado is a *privilege*.")
The evergreens, concessions, carousels,
And D. P. camp of Franz Joseph Park;
A gray-green river, evergreen-dark hills.
Last, a long way off in the sky,
Snow-mountains.

Over this clouds come, a darkness falls,
Rain falls.
On the veranda Romana,
A girl of three,
Sits licking sherbet from a wooden spoon;
I am already through.
She says to me, softly: *Hier bin i'*.
I answer: *Da bist du*.

I bicycle home in my raincoat
Through the ponchos and pigtails of the streets,
Bathe, dress, go down four flights of stairs
Past Maria Theresa's sleigh
To the path to the garden, walk along the lake
And kick up, dreamily, the yellow leaves
Of the lindens; the pigeons are cooing
In the morning-glories of the gardener's house,
A dragonfly comes in from the lake.
The nymphs look down with the faces of Negroes,
Pocked, moled with moss;
The stone horse has sunk in marsh to his shoulders.

But the sun comes out, and the sky
Is for an instant the first rain-washed blue
Of becoming: and my look falls
Through falling leaves, through the statues'
Broken, encircling arms
To the lives of the withered grass,
To the drops the sun drinks up like dew.
Life, life everywhere.
In anguish, in expectant acceptance,
The world whispers: *Hier bin i'*.

RANDALL JARRELL

This doubtless explains the accusation of political deformation, but I do not think that this was intentional. I do not know, either, the exact significance of the numerous changes of detail made in the situations and the characters: for instance, why Karsky, head of a peasant party in the French text, becomes a Social Democrat in America, and at the same time becomes a caricature, when in the original he had some sincerity, some solidity, and some dramatic justification. As for the expurgation of most of the passages that could have been considered "spicy"—notably those dealing with the character of Jessica—it is probably a sign of caution on the part of the American producers, expecting some day to meet a puritan audience.

On the political side, the play, in my opinion, was actually even more anti-Communist in Paris than it is in New York, for in Paris the spectator was confronted with a crucial debate of which the political theme was the human inacceptability of the Stalinist principle that the end justifies the means. Because Sartre, like the Koestler of "Darkness at Noon," is opposed to this principle, the Communists call him bourgeois, sold out, even the lackey of Truman, Marshall, Wall Street, and the United States. On the basis of "Red Gloves" as presented at the Mansfield, the only name they could throw at him would be that of bore, *raseur*. It will surely be admitted that such a reproach must be much more disagreeable to Sartre than the others, and that he has the right to defend himself.

## Spelling Out World Government

*PRELIMINARY DRAFT OF A WORLD CONSTITUTION.* By the Committee to Frame a World Constitution; Robert M. Hutchins, President. The University of Chicago Press. $2.

IN NOVEMBER, 1945, just three months after the world had witnessed the unspeakable horror of Hiroshima, a group of twelve educators met at the University of Chicago to discuss the drafting of a world constitution. Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins, who issued the invitation, was chosen to head the group and Professor Giuseppe A. Borgese was named as secretary. Two and one-half years later eleven members of the group, now known as the Committee to Frame a World Constitution, completed the draft and presented it to the public in *Common Cause*, the committee's monthly magazine. It is now available in book form.

The purpose of this constitution is to give definite shape to the world-government movement which has been growing with enormous vigor in the past few years. The committee considers this draft "a proposal to history" through which it hopes to spell out what a federal republic of the world might look like "under certain conceivable circumstances." The committee never considered this draft to be *the* world constitution, but rather the basis for providing "usable tracks for further study and discussion of the problem of world government." As such, far from being visionary, it is a document well worth reading for anyone who seeks a pragmatic solution to the problem of international peace.

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Remarkable for its brevity—the preamble and forty-seven articles can be read in an hour or less—this constitution goes far beyond the simple goal of maintaining peace. Convinced that peace depends upon justice, justice upon law, and law upon government, the drafters set out to prepare what they call a "maximal" constitution. They are not seeking "a super-Platonic Republic of the World" but, as against those who favor nothing more than a world police state to prevent war, "a realistic proposition taking into account the extant realities and forces" which make the global community. They do not think that a "minimal" world government "could be indorsed by a working consent of the human race, with a billion Asiatics subscribing to racial discrimination and the uncounted starving millions made happily law-abiding by the 'security' that, sheltered by the world government from aggression and war, they may tranquilly starve further."

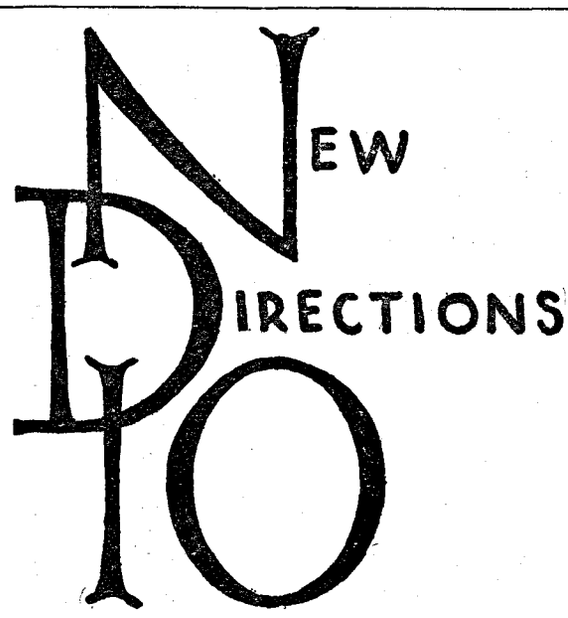
This constitution is an eloquent—sometimes touching—document of human rights. Its "Declaration of Duties and Rights," incorporated into the body of the constitution itself, goes far beyond the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States. It provides, among other things, for release from poverty and exploitation of labor, protection of all minority groups including political minorities, and for the common ownership by all mankind of "the four elements of life—earth, water, air, and energy."

The colonial Federalist Papers, the constitutions of the United States, China, Spain, Russia, and the Weimar Republic, and the parliamentary system of Britain have been used as reference material for this constitution. The primary power of government is vested in the Federal Convention, which would meet every three years for a thirty-day session, with delegates elected directly by the people on the basis of one for each million of population or major fraction of a million. The Convention would elect a President, to serve six years and ineligible for reelection, and a unicameral legislature of ninety-nine members, called the World Council. The President would appoint a Chancellor, who would represent him before the Council, and a Cabinet, the members of which would be obliged to resign in the event of a vote of no confidence by the majority of the Council.

The supreme judiciary power would be vested in a Grand Tribunal of sixty justices, appointed by the President with the consent of two-thirds of the Council. The President of the World Republic would act as Chief Justice. The Tribunal would elect a Supreme Court of seven members, one of them to be the President and another the chairman of the World Council. A Tribune of the People, whose function would be to defend the rights of minority groups, would be elected by the Federal Convention. Because of his unique position, the constitution provides a unique manner for his election. The office would be vested in the candidate receiving the *second* largest vote among the eligible candidates in the belief that "the intervention of chance increases the chances for a genuine expression of minority will." A Chamber of Guardians under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic, which would exercise exclusive control over the armed forces, would be elected by the Tribunal, together with the Council, "in Congress assembled."

Perhaps the most romantic concept indulged in by the committee was that of subdividing the world into nine federal regions or electoral areas, each comprising an area which is more or less homogeneous. Some of these regions have been assigned highly fanciful names: Europa, for example, would include all of Western Europe and the British Isles; Atlantis would include the United States, Canada, and Alaska; Columbia, the rest of the Western Hemisphere. The Soviet Union and the nations which it dominates would compose the region of Eurasia. Each of these areas would nominate three candidates for President of the World Federation. The one receiving a two-thirds' majority in a secret ballot at the Federal Convention would be elected. Each area would also present a list of twenty-seven candidates for the Council, nine of whom would be elected by the Convention. Thus each region would have an equal number of members on the Council, except that eighteen additional members would be elected at large on nomination by worldwide organizations active in three or more regions.

Obviously, there are sections in this


This tenth annual "exhibition gallery" of trends in contemporary writing is notable for the very large number of promising new "discoveries" it contains. In addition to these exciting new writers, there are such special features as: little anthologies of contemporary French, Italian and Peruvian poetry; photographs of the ruins of Munich; and provocative essays on the American scene by Evelyn Waugh and Mary McCarthy. There are also representative pieces by Agee, Bowles, Celine, Eberhart, Eluard, Lowry, Michaux, Rosenfeld, Viereck, Tennessee Williams and thirty-four others.

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draft with which not all people of good-will will agree. Sound arguments could be made against the proposed powers of the President, which include legislative and judicial powers as well as executive. Some students of government will oppose the idea of a unicameral legislature. Many will be perplexed by the highly unorthodox procedure envisioned in the election of the Tribune of the People. So much the better, from the point of view of the committee. This document is a "preliminary draft," and as such is subject to change. Once the need for such a constitution is established, the details can be worked out by the process of give and take.

As in all discussions of world government, the inevitable question of "What about Russia?" must be answered. The authors of this document are convinced that the U. S. S. R. will have no choice but to join, and adjust its concept of democracy accordingly, or to face "a desperate defensive war . . . against . . . the overwhelming majority of mankind." But whether a World Federal Government comes before or after another world war, "a conflagration out of which . . . will emerge not one Rome but two Carthages," it will surely come—"this is practically the consensus in this generation." This draft constitution brings the concept of world government out of the realm of theory and into the purview of practicality.

GEORGE A. BERNSTEIN

## Cousins and Critics

*WHAT THE ENGLISH THINK OF US.* By Fred Vanderschmidt. Robert McBride and Company. $3.

THIS report on what the author calls "American-resentment" in Britain should have been given the title "What *Some* of the English Think of Us," for while Mr. Vanderschmidt gives a little space to friendly British commentators, he quotes at much greater length from the unfriendly critics who, he estimates, represent about one-third of the population.

It is easy to see the reason for this disproportion. Mr. Vanderschmidt, London correspondent for *Newsweek*, naturally thought in terms of news values when writing a book for quick, popular consumption. Now a series of statements by Russian journalists and political leaders expressing kindly sentiments about America would start correspondents in Moscow burning up the cables. But for the American correspondent in Britain, or the British correspondent here, the situation is reversed: nasty cracks are far more newsworthy than pats on the back.

All the same, I wish this book had kept a better balance, for less knowledgeable readers may close it with the impression that the British are an ungrateful, snooty, suspicious lot of so-and-sos and that Americans had better have as little to do with them as possible. Yet the author's intentions are of the best: he likes Britain and the British and hopes to see Anglo-American relations placed on a firmer basis. And he is no doubt right in thinking that it is important for Americans to be better informed about British fears of being dragged into an American war or British reasons for not wishing to be bound to the economic juggernaut of American private enterprise.

Mr. Vanderschmidt devotes a good deal of space to such matters, but it seems to me he dwells over much on trivial differences and, on occasion, is unduly touchy about them. British lack of appreciation of some aspects of American culture is not invariably inspired by jealousy or economic rivalries. Hannen Swaffer's criticism of the vulgarities of "Hellzapoppin" (London version), which he quotes as a sample of anti-Americanism, appears to be thoroughly justified: and British comments on run-of-the-mill Hollywood products are certainly no more acerb than those of the better American critics. Again, he gives too much weight to a few British correspondents on this side whose reporting is biased and at times malicious. That is akin to judging the American press by the Chicago *Tribune*.

In the course of telling what the British think about America Mr. Vanderschmidt gives us some of his own thoughts about post-war Britain. They appear to be somewhat colored by the prejudices of his neighbors in bourgeois Hampstead, and he repeats a number of the hard-luck stories which every visitor to Britain gets from middle-class friends who feel that they are the peculiar victims of austerity. He builds up a case against "the shirking classes," which to casual readers will seem like an indictment of the workers as a whole, largely on the basis of the story of a shiftless young couple he calls Sam and Selma. (Incidentally, he gives Selma—a Lancashire lass, he says—a strong cockney accent.)

Summing up, I must confess to disappointment in this book. It contains some useful information and a few acute observations, but the treatment is too shallow for so important a subject. Mr. Vanderschmidt has once again proved that the easy-breezy reportage of the news magazines wilts sadly when transposed to a more permanent medium.

KEITH HUTCHISON

## Mexican Americans

*AMERICAN ME.* By Beatrice Griffith. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50.

WHEN you come into Los Angeles, whether from northwest, north, east, southeast, or south, you travel on roads graded and paved largely by Mexican labor or over rails maintained by Mexican crews. You go through towns and villages where Mexicans form a large part of the population; you have already passed great ranches where migrant Mexicans come to pick "the fruits." From the east your way lies among miles of slums: Belvedere, East Los Angeles, the Gentile half of Boyle Heights, all mostly Mexican. These are the people who supply the unskilled labor for Southern California's farms and industries, the ones anxious for jobs "no white man will take," living in houses condemned for slum clearance, harried by zealous cops, despised by gringos whose fathers crossed oceans instead of borders, confronted always by that apparently innocuous sign whose esoteric meaning is too well known to them, "We reserve the right to refuse service to anyone."

Beatrice Griffith's "American Me" is only indirectly concerned with the adults of this group. The adolescents, born on soil once backwardly Mexican but sacred to Old Glory these hundred years, suffer a cultural schizophrenia.

"Who do you think you are, calling me dirty Mexican?" The guy banged him hard and say, "Well, I'm me American me. That's who I am!" So Mokey banged him hard on the head with a pink Kewpie and yell him, "Yeah? Well, I'm American me too. American inside, but Mexican on top!"

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They have been to school to learn of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution which makes them free, equal, and eligible for any position from garbage collector's helper to the Presidency. They have also been segregated into basement classrooms—often under incompetent teachers—on the excuse of "special instruction"; characterized as dirty, lazy, and stupid; advised to go in for manual arts and domestic science on the ground that there is no use encouraging ambitions which cannot be gratified; picked up, questioned, manhandled, and occasionally murdered by policemen "on suspicion"; briefly, treated as minorities are frequently treated by their superiors.

The split personality does not rebel singlemindedly. Half the effort goes into conformity, to prove themselves as American as the *gabachos*; the other half is spent in defiance. If the preponderant impulse is toward submission, the adolescent is a "square"; if to assertion, a *pachuco*, zoot-suited and jive-talking. Mrs. Griffith has taken twelve stories of these adolescents and reworked them into fine, economical prose. One in particular, Saturday Night Ride, is a little masterpiece, offering the reader an emotional experience immediately satisfying yet sequentially agitating. Appended to each story is a factual essay for background. These essays include the zoot-suit riots, delinquency, the Mexican family, jobs, housing and health, schools, the church, the law, and the ironical dilemmas of the Mexican Americans in the war and in the post-war world. "But us Mexicans have been living on rumors a long time—you know that—the rumors of democracy!" WARD MOORE

## Too Many Owls?

*THE PORTABLE GREEK READER.* Edited, and with an Introduction, by W H. Auden. The Viking Press. $2.

IN MAKING this selection Mr. Auden appears to have taken his responsibility very seriously indeed. Almost solemnly, as a matter of fact; and the emphasis more heavily set on instruction than emotion or delight. The seven hundred pages are broken up into sections entitled Cosmogonies and Cosmologies, The Hero, Nature Man, Society; there is a thirty-eight-page introduction by the editor, very interesting, charmingly written, and thereby just a little unkind to the Greek authors, or their unhappy translators, who follow. Lucian, Mr. Auden explains, has been excluded on grounds of personal distaste; and lack of space has, of course, operated to keep out many others—Xenophon, for example, Herodotus (!), Menander. An editor must make choices; this portable reader seems to me primarily chosen for the no-nonsense-about-this fellows, and the strength of the Greeks, as shown in their levity, given not quite its due. A few more of the satirical epigrams, for instance, might have brightened the pages considerably. There is a ten-page chronological outline of classical Greek civilization, with dates, births and deaths, events: here I notice at least one good one—under events, 514, it is said that Harmodious and Aristogeiton assassinate Hipparchus, but the death of Hipparchus is ascribed to 510. An unconscionably long time, surely, for even a tyrant to take about dying.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

## Italian War Novel

*THE SKY IS RED.* By Giuseppe Berto. New Directions. $3.50.

THERE are at least four reasons for speaking well of "The Sky Is Red," this picture of what the war did to a group of adolescents in a bombed-out North Italian town. Although it is obviously written from first-hand observation it is no mere piece of reporting draped about a plot. The predicaments it so ably explores are immediately relevant to most of Europe as well as northern Italy—its subject, that is, is about as universal as one can get. It is the work of a man of good-will. It is tender and compassionate and never sentimental. But it is not a very good novel, and I think it important to define the reason why.

Signor Berto is far more in control of his material than most novelists of World War II. There is no cardboard about his characters, no exploitation of a tragic situation for its fictional possibilities. But his book is entirely predictable. Good-will leads him straight into an over-simplified allegory. The lesson of the horrors of war, especially as they fall on the poor, must be taught. And so the typical in the four main characters, the fact that they behave precisely as one would expect, finally blurs the individual. One knows, from the time they appear as ragged children, exactly what is going to become of Giulia and Carla, for one knows what the allegory demands. The illusion of free will evaporates not because of any views the author may hold but because of the necessities of the fictional pattern. It is a fault radical to this novel and to many of the most seriously intentioned novels of our time. ERNEST JONES

# Books in Brief

*THE FALL OF THE SPANISH AMERICAN EMPIRE.* By Salvador de Madariaga. Macmillan. $5. This companion volume to the author's "Rise of the Spanish American Empire" deals less with specific events than with the nature and interplay of racial elements (white, Indian, Negro, and mixed), the influence of Jews, Jesuits, and Freemasons, and the impact of the American


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and French revolutions. It is a formless and murky narrative lit by brilliant flashes of insight and lightened by many quotations from early documents. "The wars of secession are the crises between these two springs within the soul of the Indies: the longing for whiteness which tends to unify all the Indies and, through the whites, to keep them attached to Spain; and the strength of the earth, which calls its people to itself and molds them into a oneness to fit its own genius." This not untypical quotation is evidence both of the Spanish *mystique* and of a style whose natural cloudiness is heightened by the author's unease in the English language.

*THOMAS: ROCK OF CHICKAMAUGA.* By Richard O'Connor. Prentice-Hall. $4. A detailed and readable biography of a neglected Union general who had coolness, courage, and remarkable competence but lacked the dashing qualities that made lesser men famous. Includes excellent descriptions of some of the most interesting battles of the Civil War.

*GREAT SOUL.* By Herrymon Maurer. Doubleday. $2. A brief study of Gandhi's life and teachings. "His greatness was that he grew toward truth." An exercise in hagiology that is illuminating in spite of its attitude of perpetual adoration.

*THE CITY AND THE CZAR.* By Harold Lamb. Doubleday. $4.50. A continuation of the author's picturesque and anecdotal history of Russia. The present volume covers the years 1648 to 1762 and centers about that drunken and demon-ridden giant, Peter the Great. The chief impression left by the narrative is that of the lethal quarreling of savage children in a country and under a king characterized alike by cruelty and by lust for life.

*AS OTHERS SEE US.* By André Visson. Doubleday. $3. A useful analysis of those current misconceptions of Americans and their way of life that flourish throughout Europe. Their apogee is reached by E. J. Dingwall, an English observer, who wrote, "The American emphasis on plumbing and bathroom amenities is allied to that guilt complex. It's an act of wanting to wash it away."

*LIBERTY AGAINST GOVERNMENT.* By Edward S. Corwin. Louisiana University Press. $3. An interesting study of the rise, development, and decline of what the author calls "liberty as a juridical concept . . . enforcible by courts upon the legislative branch of government." With index.

*PIAZZA TALES.* By Herman Melville. Edited by Egbert S. Oliver. Hendricks House, Farrar, Straus. $3.50. The second volume to appear in the new edition of Melville's complete works. Benito Cereno, Bartleby, and the other Piazza Tales are competently, though as usual pedantically and insensitively, edited by one of the formidable group of young Melville *Fachmänner*.

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## Drama

*JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH*

MAXWELL ANDERSON'S "Anne of the Thousand Days" is certainly one of the very best of its author's works, and by that same token it is also one of the two new plays on Broadway indubitably worth seeing. Its subject is the story of Anne Boleyn and Henry, from the moment when he first declares his intention to have her to the moment when he realizes that she is dead by the stroke of his own pen. Its style is approximately that of Mr. Anderson's other historical romances. But the style is also simpler and stronger than it has ever been before, and the whole effect is more powerful and less pretty.

Few who see the play as it is now being performed at the Shubert Theater are likely, I think, to disagree with this judgment. But few who have not also read the text are likely to realize that the play is even better than the production would indicate. The production is elaborate, expensive, careful, and on the surface more than competent. Rex Harrison seems to be presenting a very believable Henry and Joyce Redman a very appealing Anne. But in actual fact the whole tends to play down, even to obscure, what seem to me to be the strongest and most original features of the text. Indeed, this is so strikingly true that it seems to suggst a deliberate intention, as though the director or someone else concerned had had the feeling that the public would take more readily to a version whose sharpness had been blurred into the semblance of something merely amiable.

The greatest strength of the play consists in the success with which a certain naked fierceness in the characters themselves is made real. Englishmen and Englishwomen had in that day an almost Latin tempestuousness of soul which they did not entirely lose until the eighteenth century was under way, and Mr. Anderson has captured more of it than in any of his previous historical plays. They loved and hated, they destroyed others and they destroyed themselves, with a passionate recklessness which one must believe in if one is to understand how history could ever have happened. The dramatist who would make the personages believable must make them imposing, terrifying even, rather than what is commonly called "sympathetic." Anne must be not merely a pathetic victim but also unconquerable and ruthless. To some extent she does, to be sure, remain that even in the play as acted; but on the stage she seems less imposing than Mr. Anderson drew her. The whole conception is made to seem less Elizabethan, more Victorian. And from the standpoint of a critic this remains unfortunate, even though it may possibly be true that a contemporary audience would rather have both Anne and the others made understandable in its terms than in their own.

What seems to me to be the similar playing down of a theme is equally unfortunate. I have already called "Anne of the Thousand Days" a historical romance rather than strictly speaking a tragedy. That means, of course, that it is not primarily concerned with a large general problem, either moral or metaphysical. But as Mr. Anderson wrote it, the romance is something more than mere romance because some such problem is just visible in the background.

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What does it mean to say that because of them, because of Henry's desire for Anne and because of her fierce prideful ambition, England broke from Rome and a whole world was different? Does the fate of mankind really turn upon such small unpredictables as this?

It is said that Barrett Wendell once paused in a college lecture to remark: "Religion makes strange bedfellows. Henry VIII *liked* strange bedfellows. Hence the English church." Now the story of Anne and Henry can be told to mean just that, but Mr. Anderson does not tell it so. A crucial speech near the center of the play calls attention to the fact that Henry is a successful king because he seems to sense in some mysterious way what his subjects want or, at least, what they will put up with. And, at the very end, as he talks to the ghost of Anne, he raises in his own not very philosophical way the question implied. Because of what we two did, he says, the world will be forever different. But who, he asks, willed it so? Was it you, or was it I, or was it They? In the play as performed the last three lines are, for reasons which it is difficult to fathom, cut out. They would require only two or three seconds to say, but they would make the point now left unmade and, incidentally, give meaning to the previous speech about Henry's kingly instinct, which now seems to have no function.

Mr. Anderson is known to be an intransigent, sometimes perhaps even a cantankerous, man. I feel sure that if it had ever been suggested to him that the elimination of those lines would make the play more palatable to the Catholic church, he would have kept them in if it had meant building a new set. But it is going to be said that they were left out for that reason. And, what is more important, their omission reduces the weight of the whole play, which tends now to become too much merely the private story of two individuals who happened to be prominent in the England of their day. What Mr. Anderson wrote is a good deal more than that.

In "Lend an Ear," which is billed as "an intimate musical revue" (National Theater), the amateur spirit is so much insisted upon that one comes to suspect it of having professional origins. It is persuasive enough, nevertheless, to induce in the spectator the mood of a parent at a college theatrical. This isn't quite fair to the best things in the show —for some of the numbers and several of the performers exhibit a good deal of talent and skill; on the other hand it makes the rest of the piece seem better than it actually is. I enjoyed the evening, and relapsed only occasionally into the disenchanted mood of one B. Lillie impersonating Major Bowes and propounding the grim question, "What can *you* do, I'm afraid?" M. M.

## Films

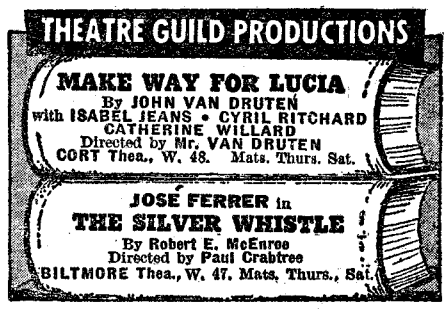
ANTHONY BOWER

IT IS reported that at one time there was some question of banning "Monsieur Vincent" in New York City, the Catholic church having taken exception to a brief appearance of Cardinal Richelieu, very much *en homme du monde,* disporting himself with some cats and making cynical remarks. If this was objected to, it is most peculiar, for Richelieu plays a large part in the goings-on in the current version of "The Three Musketeers," where his behavior can hardly be described as worthy of an officer of the church, though it is true that he never appears in cardinal's robes as he does in the French film. "Monsieur Vincent," moreover, is said to be in high repute with the church in France, being considered responsible for a large number of conversions—which it well may have been, for no more convincing portrayal of a saintly man could be imagined than that given by Pierre Fresnay.

He is first seen as the young curé, Vincent de Paul, arriving by public coach at a small village outside Paris where God and charity have long been forgotten and where fear of the plague keeps the villagers behind the barred doors of their homes. As he walks through the silent, hostile streets, one hears only the ringing sound of his clogs on the cobbles and the sing and clatter of an occasional stone thrown from one of the windows. The grim, interrupted silence, the wonderfully expressive face of M. Fresnay, and the way the camera manages, with great effect, to suggest the early seventeenth century combine to make the opening of the film extremely powerful and provocative, and it is sad to report that most of the rest is anti-climactic.

When the film concentrates on the tragic sensibility of Vincent de Paul confronted with the horrors of poverty in the France of the period, it is completely effective—thanks to M. Fresnay, whose performance is doubly impressive in that he is best known to the film-going public for his gay and graceful *boulevardier* portraits—but when it moves among the rich or attempts to philosophize, it is amazingly banal. A scene aboard the royal gallery raises expectations of a reincarnation of Douglas Fairbanks, Sr.; the VIP's of the period—Richelieu, Anne of Austria, and others —are introduced with a few stock lines and carte blanche for the actors to do all their tricks; the camera moves with all the invention of an apparatus for taking daguerreotype family groups. But to follow M. Fresnay through his interpretation of St. Vincent from his early youth to old age and his founding of St. Lazare as the first organized refuge for the poor is well worth while.

Maya Deren's five "avant-garde" films were recently shown at the Provincetown Theater and will be shown again on January 25 and 26. Miss Deren is a dancer as well as a film producer, and her really admirable sense of movement is transmitted to the photography in all her work. Her "Study in Choreography for Camera" is very beautiful—following the danc-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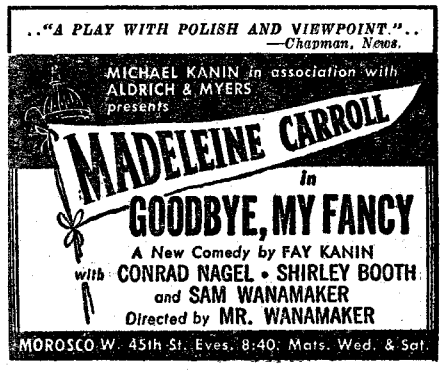
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ing of Talley Beatty through fields and trees and open spaces with a wonderful sense of the relation between the dance and the camera. Her new dance study "Meditation on Violence" seems to me less successful. It is danced by Ch'ao-Li Chi, and the movements are based on Chinese shadow-boxing, with a musical accompaniment of a Chinese flute and Haitian drums which to the unaccustomed ear have a hideous and penetrating monotony. The movements of the dance are subtle and somewhat static, and the camera, in order to follow them, has to remain too fixed to allow the maximum play to Miss Deren's invention. The other films on the program are her earlier "Meshes of the Afternoon," a sort of surrealist dream sequence; "At Land," more or less in the same vein; and "Ritual in Transfigured Time," which combines choreography and some of the features of the last two films. Miss Deren is a bold and provocative experimenter, and her films deserve interest and support.

## Music

**B. H. HAGGIN**

THROUGHOUT the season of 1945-46 Toscanini's broadcast performances showed a striking and disquieting change: a tense rigidity, as against the plasticity and flexibility that had been one of their outstanding characteristics. This was disquieting because of what it suggested—that the new rigidity in the performances might be analogous to the stiffening in physical movements produced by age. But the enchanting plasticity and grace of the performance of the Mozart Divertimento early in the next season was enough to disprove that; and while tension continued to show itself in some performances—in fast tempos and in breathless urgency within a movement and from one movement to the next—the lessening of the tension was evident in others. And this year there has been nothing but complete relaxation and spaciousness in performances which have been among the most marvelously beautiful I have ever heard.

Mozart's Quartet K.421 has been recorded for English Decca by the Griller Quartet (ED-75, $9.45). There are affected phrasing (e.g., second subject in the recapitulation section of the first movement), fussy hesitancies (e.g., beginning of the second movement) overdramatic pauses and whispers (e.g., measures 9 to 12 of the second movement); and even when the playing is good it doesn't have the ease, grace, and elegance of the Budapest Quartet performance. It is, however, much better reproduced than the Budapest. Surfaces of my copy are not as quiet as they should be.

The Griller performance of Haydn's delightful Quartet Opus 33 No. 3 ("Bird") is much better; unfortunately the recorded sound of the violins is unpleasantly sharp. Surfaces of my copy are very noisy (ED-76, $5.25).

Beethoven's Quartet Opus 135 has been recorded for RCA Victor by the Paganini Quartet (DM-1253, $4.75). The unusually fast tempo of the first movement—a real Allegretto two to the measure—comes off successfully, its effect being to heighten the capricious and humorous quality of the music. On the other hand the introduction to the finale is much too slow — and also crudely phrased. Otherwise the performance is good; and while it lacks the finesses of tone, phrasing, and ensemble of the Budapest performance, it is much better reproduced. Surfaces are noisy.

The Budapest Quartet's contribution, in a Columbia set (797, $4.75), is Hindemith's Quartet in E flat (1943), which I find as unmitigatedly unattractive now as when I heard it the first time. Performance and recording are good.

Heifetz has recorded for RCA Victor (DM-1254, $6) Beethoven's Sonatas Opus 12 Nos. 1 and 2—not very interesting music, which he plays with surprising and admirable simplicity and respect for the rights of the piano part that is well played by Bay. The recorded sound of the violin gets a little brash in loud passages; the piano sounds dull; surfaces are not quiet.

And Alfredo Campoli has recorded for English Decca Corelli's fine "La Folia" Variations (ED-82, $5.25) and Tartini's engaging Sonata in G minor (ED-81, $5.25), which he plays well. Either his tone lacks brightness or the recording makes it sound veiled much of the time.

Another engaging eighteenth-century piece, a little Concerto for oboe and strings by Cimarosa, has been recorded for Mercury by Mitchell Miller and the Saidenberg Little Symphony (DM-6, $2.89). There is nothing like Miller's oboe-tone and phrasing; and the joint performance is excellent. The oboe is well reproduced; but the violins in the fast movements are veiled much of the time, and the lower strings are too heavy. And side 3 of my copy wavers in pitch.

Mercury also wastes a beautiful ensemble performance by Mieczyslaw Horszowski, Alexander Schneider, Milton Katims, and Frank Miller on Brahms's Quartet Opus 60 for piano and strings (DM-9, $6.55). As recorded, the piano is a little in the background and the violin a little sharp in the first three movements; in the finale the piano is properly balanced with the strings, but the violin's sharpness is much greater. Sides 1 and 5 of my copy waver in pitch.

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## CONTRIBUTORS

LEO SAUVAGE is a French journalist now in the United States. He was formerly film critic of *Franc-Tireur*. He has also served as a drama critic and has worked as a stage director with "little theater" organizations in France.

RANDALL JARRELL has recently published his third book of poems, "Losses."

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# Letters to the Editors

## Laski, "The Nation," and Other Liberals

*Dear Sirs:* For sheer unadulterated slosh give the prize to Harold J. Laski's article, Let's Start Over, in *The Nation* of November 27. For simple-mindedness of editorial judgment in publishing the article as a special feature give yourself the prize. Laski lives in a moonshine ether where noble intentions fulgurously give birth and collide. *The Nation* lives in a next-door spot where its eyes are open for the new image of the next bright idea. I love *The Nation* for its nobility and reasonableness—most of its articles are excellent in their descriptive acuity and penetrating criticism. But it all leads nowhere.

However, I can't blame *The Nation* alone—look at all the liberals. It took a little man like Truman to galvanize the good people of our country into activity, and it is the little man Truman who is figuring out plans. And all this without the rhetoric and emotion and verbalized anxieties of Laski. This notion of "a plague on both your houses" reeks with the instability of a rootless individual who would love to live in the collectivized cornfields of Russia with the freedoms of capitalist America. Laski is played out because his thinking is played out. And I want *The Nation* to watch out or the paralysis will get it too.

MARTIN WOLFSON
Brooklyn, December 16

## Laski and Low

*Dear Sirs:* The Harold J. Laski article is the greatest sermon of our times. Your use of the Low cartoon "No Allies of Mine" to accompany the Laski article was also highly appropriate.

BYRUM SHOCKLEY
Avon Park, Fla., December 14

## Seeing Things as They Are

*Dear Sirs:* I was so impressed with the high eloquence and warm humanitarianism in Harold Laski's article, Let's Start Over, that I hate to cavil with any part of it. There was much in it that is timely and urgent—his reminder of the drive toward conformism on each side with its resulting fanaticism, of the sterile impotence of the old order, the insane futility of a preventive war. Nevertheless, I believe that Mr. Laski has fallen into the trap that has ensnared too many liberals: in his effort to be fair he has been unjust and misleading.

"Rarely in previous periods of crisis have those whose function it ought to be to communicate insight and understanding been so eager to blind us to the truth." But Mr. Laski, in his burning zeal to be impartial, has blinded himself. The whole intent and tenor of his article is that the United States and Russia are equally guilty. If this idea is true, well and good; but if it is false, it behooves the liberal to reject it, not cling to it.

It seems to me that any candid student of the present terrible international situation will have to agree with Bertrand Russell that, by and large, "it is Russia's fault." Put all the evidence into the balance, and that's the way it is. As soon as the left becomes convinced of that and admits it honestly and openly, then and only then will the air be cleared for valid thinking on the subject.

This is not to say that we should join in any anti-Soviet crusade. Let us steer clear of the drive toward conformism by all means. But at the same time let us see things as they are, not as we wish they were. Let us continue to be critical of our own country when it is at fault—and that is often enough, heaven knows. Let us keep striving toward peaceful solutions and an effective United Nations. But let us not poison our thinking at the source by assuming something that is not so.

The right is crude and despicable in its misrepresentations. Let us not emulate it. "The barbaric ruthlessness of the Russian leaders has been at least as evil as the immaturity and incoherence with which America has displayed its overwhelming power," says Mr. Laski. Let us have no more of this sort of foolishness; it plays directly into the hands of our rightist enemies. Instead, let us learn to deal in facts and possibilities.

ALBERT B. SOUTHWICK
Leicester, Mass., December 17

## Costly Disarmament

*Dear Sirs:* I did not get down to reading my copy of last week's *Nation* until Saturday night. And I don't suppose I was alone among its readers to get a chuckle out of the irony in the editorial on Costa Rica's President Figueres, who "lightly disbanded his country's army and, before the eyes of a gasping diplomatic corps, delivered its principal fortress to a committee for the establishment of a museum."

But the next morning's newspaper proved that there must have been at least one member of the diplomatic corps whom the scene affected differently. If the representative of Nicaragua, which next morning invaded Costa Rica, did not smile, he must have laughed out loud. As of this moment the only conspicuous gasping is being done by President Jose Figueres and a few gullible readers of the *The Nation,* me included.

In our day, alas, disarmament is too costly a luxury even for little Costa Rica.

SAMUEL ROTH
New York, December 15

## Radio with a Sombrero

*Dear Sirs:* You are in Mexico. You understand the Spanish a leetle. You tune in on an audience-participation program. Instead of "Who's buried in Grant's Tomb?" they ask, "After what patriot is the State of Hidalgo named?" The Mexican contestant is hesitant, unsure. The announcer warns the audience not to help. Will he make it? Finally he stammers: "Is it Hidalgo?" Loud shrieks and applause. A free trip to Havana for the brilliant reply. You smile and feel at home. You'd never know you'd left the United States.

You visit the studios of XEW in Mexico City. Autograph hounds lurk outside the portals. Fans swoon when Arturo de Cordoba, the film star, arrives to play the international detective, Richard LaCroix. They claw at Nestor Chayes, a tenor with the sex appeal of Sinatra and Crosby. A two-block queue is lined up. Shifty characters offer to sell free radio tickets. Again it seems very like home.

You encounter commercialism run riot. Between time-givings, every minute

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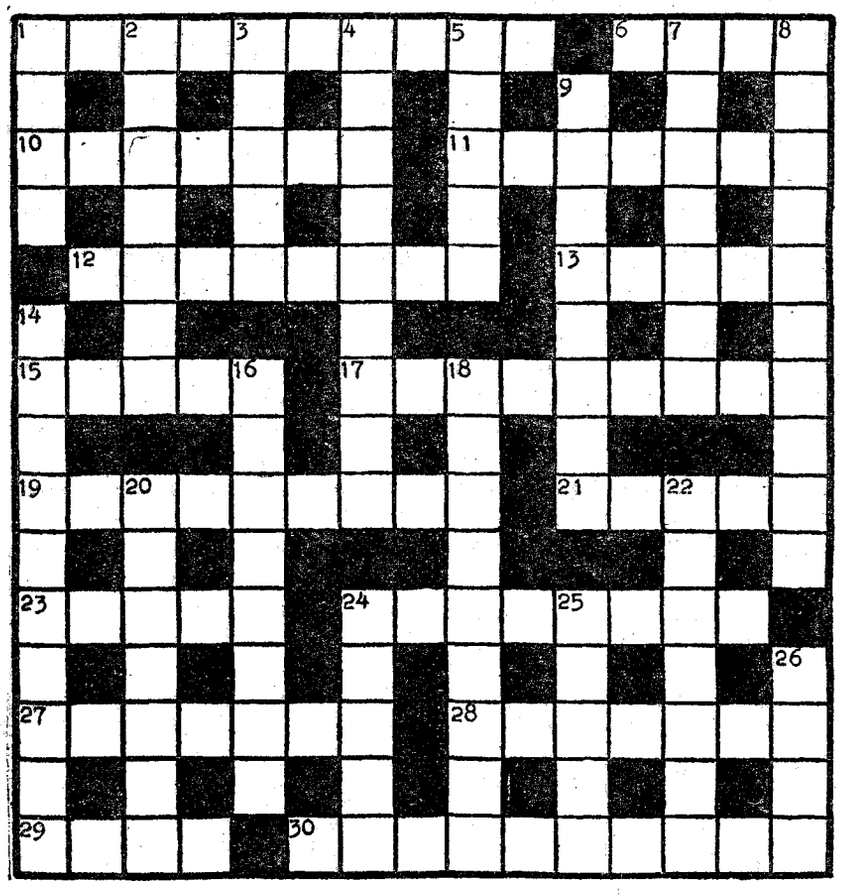
# Crossword Puzzle No. 294

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

1 Is John a coward when it comes to sickness? (6, 4)
6 Sort of a cry from the distance? (4)
10 A good judge of rarebit. (7)
11 How a girl follows the sea in France. (7)
12 Certainly higher than an amateur's charges! (8)
13 5 couldn't be used on its locks. (5)
15 This sort of train is rather gay. (5)
17 A perplexing state of affairs. (9)
19 He's almost always out of line. (9)
21 Consomme, when made without proper study, is watery. (5)
23 Puff. (5)
24 The proper criterion for an Ensign. (8)
27 One of the things Lincoln said was beyond our power to do. (7)
28 Do they blanket the entire southwest? (7)
29 People often say "What's the good?" with this. (4)
30 It does when it plays the National Anthem. (10)

## DOWN

1 Sometimes presents quite a headache, when new. (4)
2 Is the place so small that there are no more than fifty on the peninsula? (7)
3 One of his family is a skunk! (5)
4 Where people must agree before a period is put on the sentence. (4, 5)
5 These are always getting into people's hair. (5)
7 A sign of falling temperatures when it changes to red? (7)
8 Patricians should be, despite the hackneyed phrase? (3-7)
9 Choice of the labor organization in a kind of superstructure. (8)
14 Not green, despite the epithet, yet shouldn't turn to weeds. (5, 5)
16 Not a martial version of "Little Toot." (3-2-3)
18 Might imply the legal examination's passed, it's agreed! (9)
20 What rioters do? (7)
22 "*Advance!*" is not the proper order of a monarch. (5, 2)
24 Ask it in place of the territorialist. (5)
25 This is replaced as a matter of course. (5)
26 Is twice the goddess she appears to be. (4)

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 293

ACROSS:—1 HAPPY CHRISTMAS TO ALL AND TO ALL A GOOD NIGHT; 9 MANDATE; 10 MAGENTA; 11 ELAINE; 12 AL FRESCO; 14 TONIGHT; 17 GATES; 19 OROTUND; 23 CUPFUL; 25 POURING; 26 THE FAIR; 27 WEIGHTY MATTERS.

DOWN:—1 HAMPERING; 2 PENDANT; 3 YEARNINGS; 4 HEEL; 5 IMMOLATION; 6 TIGER; 7 AMNESIA; 8 HALO; 15 TRUCULENT; 16 LANDLORDS; 18 TRADUCE; 20 DEFLATE; 21 TIPS; 22 LYING; 24 STEM.

**Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.**

on the minute, clock round, an announcer crowds in six to eight advertisements read at breakneck speed without pauses for commas, periods, or changes of subject. Cocoa copy spills figuratively into the beer, and *leche en polvo* (powdered milk) gets mixed rhetorically with motor oil.

Mexican radio has forums, moderators, quizmasters, giveaways, free tickets, free trips, whispering baritones, soap operas, stooges with funny voices, and old jokes. It's all very American, but as you continue to listen, the differences emerge. You note the amount of marimba music, poetry readings, unashamed Latin sentimentality. And you tune in on a bullfight. Here you are listening not to a sportcaster but an art critic. Over the air a bullfight description sounds like a matinee at the ballet. The bull is never vulgarly slaughtered but artistically dominated. The *matador* and the *toro* first have their little *pas de deux* and cape dance. Later, at the proper time and in the proper manner, arms up and knees gracefully in line, the man dispatches the beast fashionably and without rancor.

Spanish is the language par excellence for the expression of improbable passion. It suggests guitars and perfumed gardens. One may kiss a lady's hand gracefully in Spanish, something impossible of accomplishment in English. In the end you credit the language and Latin temperament for making Mexican radio essentially Mexican despite superficial resemblances to American broadcasting. Mexico's composer-conductor, Augustin Lara, employs words lushly and broadcasts in a studio banked with flowers, hung with arrow-pierced hearts, and bathed in subdued lighting. Radio listeners in their homes cannot "see" any of this studio atmosphere, but, says Señor Lara, being Mexicans they can "feel" it.

Mexican radio poems are long and gushy and often cooed to the accompaniment of muted violins. "Music for the Heart" is such a show. "Rhapsody," "The Romance of Mexico," "The Doctor of Souls," and "Remembrances of Two Old Sweethearts" are others. There is even a reverse-twist soap opera, "How We Men Feel," subtitled "Secrets of the Masculine Heart from Real Life." Cash prizes are paid by "The School for Love" program to the young man or young woman who best reads or best improvises a declaration of love. The studio applause decides.

Strict Mexican etiquette carries over into radio fiction. Convention requires

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that soap-opera heroines make extended inquiry as to the health of the friends and relatives of all characters. The plot can, and does, wait. A remarkable ghost appeared in one serial to taunt a dying sinner with his misdeeds, but before launching into the tirade the ghost asked after various relatives of the sinner.

Mexican comedians, you learn, feud with radio vice-presidents much in the manner of Fred Allen but for typically Mexican reasons. The problem of humor is complicated in Mexico, because until recently comedy was either political or stag. You hear that one station boasts that its censorship is stricter than in the United States. Everything is judged, so runs the claim, with a fourteen-year-old convent girl in mind. This is a somewhat severe test of radio humor. But the Mexicans are always pragmatic, and the rule is apparently allowed to lapse after 8:30 p.m. At least Mexican gagwriters and comics seem to proceed on the assumption, probably justified, that by then fourteen-year-old convent girls have said their prayers and gone to bed.

ROBERT J. LANDRY

New York, December 20

## On Ostracizing Gieseking

*Dear Sirs:* I must vote against your decision to ostracize Gieseking. It seems to me that the moral life of a man in society is a continuous fabric, and I don't understand why any one phase of it should be marked off, for concert performers, as the area of unforgivable sin. This, it seems to me, is not only to perpetuate the errors of nationalism but to undermine the legalistic basis of a democracy. It is to use the same undefined recriminatory procedure against Gieseking that the House Investigating Committee has used against Alger Hiss, a procedure that serious democrats should feel called upon to protest, no matter what the merits of the case. If Gieseking is culpable, he should be put in jail, like Ezra Pound. The question is not one of art and politics, it seems to me, but of custom and law.

R. W. FLINT

Montreal, Canada, December 18

## The Ancients Are Different

*Dear Sirs:* In his recent letter Raphael Demos reproaches himself for a sort of schizophrenia—his feelings would keep him away from the concerts of Gieseking but his reason points another way. And he asks, Should we not stop reading Bacon, Isocrates, *et al.* because they have bad backgrounds if we stay away from the concerts of Gieseking because he formerly collaborated with the Nazis?

Gieseking subverted his art to politics and material gains. Those who attend his concerts today make it possible for him to add to his material gains. The ancients to whom Demos refers are no longer here and can reap no profits. The writings of the ancients, moreover, gave us something that we may not be able to find elsewhere. This is hardly the case with Gieseking. There are plenty of artists to whom we can listen with at least equal benefit, and who are certainly more deserving of our support.

I do not think it is asking too much to subordinate any personal satisfaction one may derive from a Nazi's concert to the higher human values which these Nazis would have destroyed.

HERMAN W. BERNSTEIN

New York, December 20

* * *

## Exchange Department

*Dear Sirs:* I wonder if any of your readers would like to exchange letters? To give them some idea of whom they would be writing to, my main interests —apart from my family and home—are reading, writing, politics (not socialism, even though I am in Socialist England and, naturally, love my country), social conditions, babies, and animals. My address is 70, Moat Avenue, Coventry.

MRS. MARY GREENER

Coventry, England, December 11


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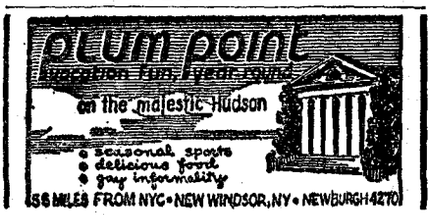
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